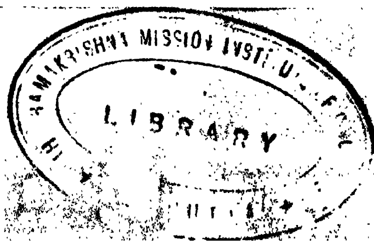

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SIGNS AND PORTENTS IN THE FAR EAST

BY

EVERARD COTES

WITH THIRTY-FIVE ILLUSTRATIONS

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TO

MY WIFE

PREFACE

EVENTS of to-day in the Far East are posters for to-morrow. No white man can wander, as the writer of these pages did last summer, through China, Manchuria, Korea, and Japan, without having forced upon his sight some of the inscriptions which these posters bear.

The impressions here set down are those of an Anglo-Indian journalist who does not apologise for his point of view, since the potentialities of India as the coadjutor of Great Britain in the future of the Far East can hardly be over-estimated. That future is perhaps the most serious problem of the twentieth century.

So immediate and dramatic, so big with possibilities and crowded with incident, is the new situation, that the writer publishes his report believing that the evidence of an eye-witness cannot fail to be of value where Anglo-Saxon interests are so closely concerned and so plainly threatened.

LONDON

February, 1907

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SIGNS AND PORTENTS IN THE FAR EAST

CHAPTER I

THE CASE FOR ENQUIRY

SUFFICIENT time has now elapsed since the conclusion of the war in Manchuria to permit some opinion to be formed of the nature of the changes in the Far East which began when Russia was defeated by an Oriental power. Even earlier than that it had become hard to realise that it was ever possible to dismiss Japan with a fan and a tea-cup. About the same time, for most people, the wooden bullets and sand-filled shells of another campaign began to retreat into Chinese mythology. Those of us who saw that happy fantasy, "The Mikado," upon the stage of twenty years ago have in the memory an inimitable and quite unique possession. Its gaiety and charm have vanished in the clash of arms, and nobody can altogether feel them now. Indeed the days of comic opera for the presentation of these peoples are over. We look

rather for their alien appearance in the Concert of Europe, and hope that it will not be an interruption.

Four years ago Russia was in firm possession of the rich Chinese province of Manchuria; Germany was pushing westwards from her base at Tsingtao, and threatened to absorb the entire Chinese peninsula of Shangtung; France was creeping northwards in Tonking; Belgium was engaged in Middle China in railway enterprises designed to link the French in the south with their allies, the Russians, in the north. England and America, the only European powers whose policy appeared to be to mark time in China, saw their influence and their markets everywhere threatened by their more aggressive neighbours. To-day, aggression on the part of all white nations is in abeyance. Everybody is marking time.

The dismemberment of China which the world had thought so imminent has been arrested. Russia has been driven, snarling, from one lacerated limb. France and Germany are slackening their grip upon two other members. The mandarin is upon his feet. He understands the mortal danger he has escaped so narrowly, and by no virtue of his own, and apparently begins to realise the bulk and vast brute strength that render him formidable to the world. He regards Japan, Great Britain, and America, who have been his preservers, with only one degree less suspicion and hostility than he has for the enemies from whom they have saved him. He is cramming revolvers and cartridges into his waistbelt. His

factories at Hanyang are busy making mausers and modern field-pieces. His viceroys are drilling and arming a hundred thousand followers. He is rudely refusing to grant more concessions to European exploiters, and makes no secret of his determination to manage his own affairs, and to assimilate just so much of the white man's science and civilisation as shall enable him to bid defiance to the white man himself.

Japan has turned from the brilliant demonstration of her capacities before the world to the less conspicuous task of their consolidation. She is developing her conquests, turning to new purposes the powers of organisation and attention to detail which enabled her to defeat Russia. She is by no means resting upon her laurels, but having measured her strength by a severe standard, is now taking steps to maintain and increase it. With admirable self-denial Japan is labouring to place her finances in a position of stability. It is now plain that she proposes to win commercial supremacy in the Far East. Her military preponderance is enabling her to foster the industrial enterprises of her own people in Manchuria and Korea. She is exercising ingenuity to lessen European, American, and Chinese competition in these countries while still respecting, as far as may be compulsory, the letter of the treaties she has signed. Her agents are penetrating into every part of China, as military experts, as professors, and as traders.

Manchuria, sullen in the misery of newly stained

battlefields, watches others exploit the marvellous riches of her grain-fields and coal-measures. Korea is in disorder, but it is the disorder of an awakening. The little vassal empire is moving, clumsily and painfully, but surely, out of her humiliating past, as an appendage of China, into a more hopeful future of incorporation with Japan. The potential energy of Manchuria is still bound and inert in the protection of international jealousies and uncertain claims; but that of Korea is now at the disposal, manhood and markets, of one of the principals in the situation, a considerable increase of power and resources.

Attention centres upon the principals. Already the cotton mills of Osaka and Wuchang rattle defiance at those of Manchester and Lowell, and the blast furnaces of the Yangtse and Kiusiu are depriving those of Sheffield and Pittsburg of many profitable contracts. The shipbuilding yards of the Inland Sea and of the Shanghai estuary now appropriate a share in work that London and Glasgow once monopolised. Togo and Kuroki have proved that naval skill and military science are confined no longer to European nations; and across the Yellow Sea, Yuan-Shih-Kai and Chan-Chi-Tung are demonstrating that Chinese can be armed and drilled to emulate Japanese troops. The recent boycott of American goods in the Nanking and Kwantung provinces has made it impossible to deny that the Chinese share the Japanese capacity for concerted action. As to the direction of that action, the

indications seem clear. No one can read the translations from the Shanghai and Canton native papers, which appear in the Anglo-Chinese press, or even walk amongst the sullen faces of the Peking slums, without realising that anti-foreign feeling is as widespread and aggressive as ever, with hints of power to turn words to deeds.

The menace of all this is not confined to the Far East. It looks over the Szechuen passes into British India. It fills the minds of imaginative Bengali Hindus in plains of the Hooghly, and of polished Mahratta Brahmins in Deccan uplands, with what Anglo-Indians name sedition. Its shadow overtops the snows of the Sofaid-Kôt and stretches to Kabul. Its voice has stirred up a new spirit of unrest as far as Persia.

The situation is aggravated by the action of the white labour parties in the principal British colonies and in the United States. Canada imposes a prohibitive Chinese poll-tax, and, but for respect for English treaties, would have extended it to Japanese. The United States have gone further. California excludes Chinese workers and ostracises Japanese school-children. A South African hostility to Chinese labour competition has been advertised in China by party misrepresentation in England. Australian legislation against yellow immigration has become widely known. Resentment and matter for more resentment is accumulating in Peking and Tokyo. Every individual incident, no matter how remote, where Chinese or

Japanese receive unfriendly treatment at the white man's hands, is remembered to be returned some day with increment.

There was a time when the problem of the Far East was a question of quarrels amongst European powers over the apportionment of rights to exploit the inheritance of the yellow race. It wears a very different aspect now. The existence, not the apportionment, of such rights is in dispute; for it is clear that the yellow race will no longer submit willingly to exploitation of any kind. Many things are said and shouted, but the purport of them all is "Hands off." A mob may occupy the foreground, but ordered battalions stand in the middle distance. The white merchants of the ports, the white missionaries of the hinterland and the white officials of the diplomatic centres are compelled to adjust themselves to a new set of conditions.

Present developments have their roots in the immediate past. In 1894 Japan and China were at war to decide whose influence should predominate in Korea. Yuan-Shih-Kai, who represented Chinese interests at the court of Seoul, returned to Tientsin, after the close of the struggle, full of the necessity of adopting the methods which had made Japan victorious. Subsequently, as Governor in Shantung, and afterwards Viceroy in Chihli, Yuan-Shih-Kai carried his beliefs into action. He has been the organiser of an immense modernising movement in Northern China. He has founded schools, built roads, raised seventy thousand troops, introduced

European and Japanese military instructors, and imported and manufactured modern weapons. He was a member of the reform party in Peking which had the ear of the Chinese Emperor before the Boxer rising; but he went over to the reactionaries under the Dowager Empress, when trouble began, and was thus instrumental in reducing the Emperor to a stepmother's shadow. When the subsequent wave of anti-foreign agitation swept over China and Boxers besieged the Peking Legations, he kept aloof in his own province. He avoided embroiling himself through the years when Russia was annexing Manchuria, and afterwards when Japan was turning her out; and he has obtained the reward of his caution in becoming the most powerful man in China.

This stout-bodied, energetic, pleasant-mannered mandarin is now in the prime of life, not trusted completely by either reformers or conservatives, and with many bitter enemies in southern and central China. The wave of reaction which is tidal in China, periodically threatens but never submerges him, and he continues to control the one efficient organisation which exists for imposing the will of an individual upon the country. Yuan-Shih-Kai cannot altogether escape the reproach of being a time-server; but he dominates Northern China, and no survey of the situation in the Far East could be made without consideration of his personality, and reference to the sequence of events that has made him what he is. The imperious old

Dowager Empress and her weak-minded stepson are impotent figureheads beside this virile administrator. The time-worn Viceroy Chan-Chi-Tung, who rules the central river provinces, carries far less weight. Chan-Chi-Tung is to Middle China very much what Yuan-Shih-Kai is in the north; but he belongs to an older and less efficient generation. This ruler established the cotton-mills, ironworks, and rifle factories which have made Hankow famous. He has raised fifty thousand men and armed and drilled them in modern fashion; but they are vastly less efficient than the force controlled by Yuan-Shih-Kai. Manœuvres were in progress in Honan last autumn, in which the troops of both Yuan-Shih-Kai and Chan-Chi-Tung took part. Yuan-Shih-Kai sent batteries of quick-firing guns with his men, as a matter of course. Chan-Chi-Tung discovered, at the last moment, that he had only comparatively old-fashioned slow-firers to set against the brand-new Krupps of the north. His agents were busy in Shanghai last summer, endeavouring to buy quick-firers from anywhere or anybody, at no matter what cost, provided they could be delivered immediately. Whether they would shoot straight mattered little. They were wanted to save Chan-Chi-Tung from being publicly outdone, and for no other purpose. Yuan-Shih-Kai means his guns for use; and herein lies the difference between his methods and those of most of his predecessors. Yuan-Shih-Kai fills in the China of to-day a place comparable, allowing for the

difference in the men, to that which Marquis Ito occupied in the Japan of twenty years ago. The movement he is associated with is the leading fact in the present Far Eastern awakening.

What is the significance of this new activity? Will it grow and strengthen until it raises the Mongolian into an overbalancing factor in the equipoise of the world, or has it limits that will restrain its development and keep it from going beyond local and temporary bounds? Industrially and commercially the yellow race is entering into competition with the white. It is obvious that the markets of the Far East are now in dispute. Is British trade in danger in China and Japan alone, or does competition threaten seriously over a yet wider area? The infection of the boycott has shown itself mildly in Bengal. Is it to take hold like the plague? Japan has leapt suddenly into the arena of the big military powers. Is China about to follow her example? Are the armies of Yuan-Shih-Kai and Chan-Chi-Tung destined to sink back into impotence, or to become the parents of efficient forces exceeding those of the Mikado as the people of China outnumber those of Japan? In material resources and in men there are the makings of nine Japans in China. Are the nine units, or any of them, capable of the organisation and development which have enabled Japan to take a place beside France and Germany in the politics of the world? And what is the real presage of Japan? Are her victories in war over Russia, her successes in peace

over Manchester and Pittsburg, preludes to still wider conquests and more general commercial advance? Japan has been the apt pupil of Western races. Is she about to become their teacher? In China she neighbours a race related to herself but of giant growth. How far can this strange pair go?

Japan has imported many of the ideas of modern civilisation which make for stability and power. Will she be able to reject those which tend towards disintegration at home and weakness abroad? She has proved the efficiency of bureaucratic control of her national energies; but will her proletariat be contented to keep permanently in the background? What will become of her national policy if her imitative faculty gives her a labour party organised as in Australia and England?

The answers to all these questions depend, of course, not only upon resources and odds of circumstance, but upon the temperament, the capacity, and the character of the various yellow peoples concerned. The problem of the Far East is immanent in the peoples of the Far East, more than in the material facts which appear to equip them; and Mongolians are so different from Europeans that but few of the solving standards of the West apply.

CHAPTER II

CHINESE IN BRITISH TERRITORY

IN every British port in the Indian seas, from the coast of Bengal to that of the Straits Settlements, the Chinese element is becoming increasingly prominent. In Calcutta it is chiefly represented by industrious artisans, including shoemakers and carpenters, who find ready employment on the merits of their work, though skilled native labour competes at rates of pay which average about half what the Chinese will accept in the same handicrafts. In the year 1900, when a contingent of thirty thousand troops was under urgent despatch from India to represent Great Britain in the allied operations for the relief of the Peking Legations, a strike amongst the Chinese fitters in the Calcutta dockyard proved sufficient to delay the transports by at least a day. As far as is known the strikers cared nothing for the situation at Peking. I am here concerned only with their importance in the labour market of the capital of India. They appear rather unexpectedly in other fields. In the annual race for the Viceroy's Cup at Calcutta, which is the Derby of Asia, valu-

able horses owned by Chinese from Burma and the Straits Settlements not rarely compete. None of them have ever won the premier event, but they have carried off minor honours.

In Rangoon the Chinese merchant controls much of the inland trade. He imports pickled tea from the Shan States, and sells the Burman the pink silk *loonghi*, often woven in China and dyed in Manchester, which is the national wear. He competes seriously in the rice and timber trades, and has more than a hand in the silver and jade mines on the frontier. He is a respected and considered, if not always permanent, citizen of the British Empire, and when asked about his Emperor in Peking has been known to protest with warmth that he has no emperor but His Majesty King Edward. Matrimonially he is more than an eligible among the Burmese, whose women know how to value a husband who can be relied upon to support them.

The extraordinary prosperity which has followed British rule in the Straits Settlements would have been impossible without Chinese industry and attention to detail, to supplement English, Scotch, and Irish enterprise and administrative ability, in a climate which is too enervating to allow white men to do manual work. The Federated Malay States, which represent an annual trade of thirteen million sterling, depend for their revenue upon tin ore, for which Chinese are the principal miners.[1] As india-rubber planters, as sugar growers and as general dealers the Chinese fulfil essential functions.

There is no more favourable centre in which to observe the part which the Chinese is capable of playing under British rule than Singapore, where he finds what he probably considers the most ideal conditions the world has to offer him.

The town is the apex of a green promontory which runs southwards from Siam and Burma, so that ships bound for China from London and Calcutta must sail within eighty miles of the equator to round the furthest headland. The long islands of Java and Sumatra compel vessels sailing from Madagascar and South Africa to take the same route as those from northern ports. Rozhdestvenski's fleet, trailing eastwards to its fate, passed within range of the powerful defence batteries of the port. The officers of French and German men-of-war, sailing to and from Saigon and Kiaochau, are familiar figures in the luxurious Singapore Club; and a bo'sun's whistle on the bund would summon able-bodied seamen of all colours. The almost daily showers, which the grey skies of the tropics vouchsafe to the settlement, prevent the heat from becoming at any time fierce. A soft, hot-house atmosphere plays through the rigging of a congregation of steamers which can be matched in but six other ports in the world, since the place, already the gate for through traffic to the Far East, has now become the principal distributing centre for the trade of the Dutch East Indies and Northern Australia.

The wide wooden wharves, the grey stone graving basins, and the clanging repairing shops of the Tangong-Pagar Docks, the luxurious electric tram service in the city, and the business-like railway which runs to Johore, are all directed by Englishmen and manned by Chinese. The broad thoroughfares and substantial houses compare favourably with those of the biggest Indian cities. Even the poorest quarters have an air of comfort which strikes those who are familiar with the wretchedness of Calcutta bustees and Bombay slums. The bulk of the quarter of a million inhabitants of the city are Chinese. Chinese coolies, decorated, I cannot say clothed, with blue Eton jackets and bathing drawers, whisk fragile jinrickshaws through the crowded traffic. The men's brick-red limbs display proportions that Greek sculptors might have copied. Their dish-cover hats, which rise and fall rhythmically with the long, easy trot at which the vehicles are propelled, add to the picturesqueness of the conveyance. The passengers may be Europeans. More often they are impervious Chinese ladies or stout mandarin folk; for the jinrickshaw maintains its popularity as a means of locomotion against that packing-box on wheels, the Indian cab. Even the electric trams have failed to strike any fatal blow at the business of the jinrickshaw coolies, though the latter at one time thought themselves so seriously threatened that they took to the dangerous expedient of wedging stones into the rails—a form of humour which was not deprived of popularity until some

severe sentences had been passed in the local police court.

A group of chimney-stacks on one side of the harbour reminds the visitor that the Straits Settlements smelt more than half the total tin ore produced in the world. Palatial buildings in the business quarter are eloquent of the boom which just now is making fortunes for both Chinese and British india-rubber planters in the interior. Cart-loads of luscious pineapples block the lanes outside the city, on their way from the Chinese market-garden to the European canning factory. Prosperity beams from corpulent Chinamen and smartly turned out sahibs. Even that scantily clad problem of the country, the gentlemanly Malay, who sees no merit in work, shares in the general well-being, since the demands of the Chinese community for fish provide him with profitable employment which he can regard as sport.

The settlement is not only thriving at the present, but has entered upon developments which must increase its importance in the future. More than a million sterling, from the current revenue of the Government, is being laid out in improving the already splendid harbour-works. A site has been found and Chinese labour is being employed to dredge a graving-dock capable of accommodating the biggest man-of-war afloat. Chinese platelayers are pushing a metre-gauge railway northwards, to connect eventually with the Burma system. Already it links Penang with Port Swettenham and carries

sightseers from Singapore to the pseudo-Parisian palace of the Rajah of Johore. At present the narrow arm of the sea, which separates the island of Singapore from the mainland of Johore, is crossed only by a passenger boat; but a ferry steamer is shortly to carry the train bodily across. A small basin is to be cut on either bank as a mooring dock; and there will soon be no breaking of bulk in the conveyance of produce from the furthest inland plantation to the port.

The Chinese, through whose industry all this has been accomplished, pay their own way backwards and forwards to their homes about Canton, and are both thrifty and open-handed. Indentured Chinese labour is a factor in Singapore; but it is brought in by the Chinese themselves. The British administration provides only security for person and property, and freedom to develop the rich resources of the peninsula. Friendly give-and-take between the British and Chinese communities is apparent upon every side. Quarantine is strictly enforced against Hongkông and Canton, by British doctors who attribute the immunity of their island from such diseases as plague and small-pox, to the ten days of isolation they impose upon all deck passengers who land from the unclean cities of the Further East. The Chinese submits good-humouredly to what he regards as a troublesome British fad. His subscription to the clock, which the new town hall tower has been built to conspicuously lack, will be as liberal as if no such restriction had been imposed.

The European puts up with an unsavoury fish-market, and works cheerfully alongside more or less unwashed yellow colleagues, knowing that there is a rich harvest in tolerance. The Anglo-Indian visitor notices absence of noise and wrangling in the bazars. The jinrickshaw coolie accepts his legal fare with comparatively little grumbling. A ship is loaded by swarming pig-tailed dock-hands at the jetties, with scarcely more shouting than would be involved in putting the luggage of a single passenger upon a cab in Calcutta. The Chinese of Singapore, though obviously Asiatic in his limitations as well as in his origin, is more self-reliant than the majority of the inhabitants of India. In theory he considers himself the white man's equal, though in practice he bows to the more imperious virility of the West. A dispute amongst the Chinese passengers, who fill the decks of vessels plying between Singapore and Hongkong, is unusual; but when it occurs it is sometimes lively, an affronted Chinaman not being particular as to either instrument or method so long as retaliation be swift and efficacious. Such a thing as a serious disturbance is almost unknown, the respect commanded by British ship's officers being such that order can be restored with ease in all ordinary quarrels among coolies.

The success of the combination of the two races can only be described as phenomenal. A country already containing half a million people, doing a trade that attracts ten million tons of shipping annually, and yielding a Government revenue of

twenty million dollars, is being developed at a rate that promises enormous advance in the immediate future upon these already remarkable figures. The situation has a significance which makes it worth considering in relation to the kind of progress the Chinese have hitherto been able to make, with infinitely greater possibilities, in their own country. The deduction is obvious in Singapore, as in Calcutta, Rangoon, Penang, and Ceylon, that the efficiency as an industrial unit of which the Chinese is capable under European rule is considerably greater than that which he is likely to attain under his own mandarins. But it is too soon for deductions.

Twelve lead coffins have been safely stowed aboard, for no Singapore Chinaman will trust himself to a ship that does not undertake to carry him dead, as well as alive, into port. A dozen is a good many; but it is well to be on the safe side, since even one deceased Chinaman in excess of the accommodation provided may be embarrassing in the tropics. The volume of wire-stringed lute-twanging that finds its way up from the hold shows there is a full cargo of prosperous gentry who are going to finish their days in Kwangtung, as the Anglo-Indian seeks Devonshire, or the South African Park Lane. Singapore and its empty clock-tower have dwindled into daisies and dandelions in the hedge of a green field of harbour. In front the headlands of the wide gate into the China



YELLOW COLLEAGUE



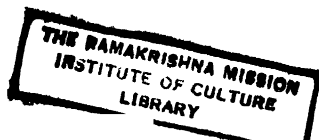
MAINLAND OF JOHORE

Sea stand open to us as they stood to Marco Polo. There are no explorers among us; their day is over. They sailed to China; we sail with China on board. To the humbler observer there is all the difference of five hundred years.

CHAPTER III

THE SITUATION IN CANTON

CERTAIN things are going on in Canton which have direct bearing upon the change that is coming over the outlook in China. A dozen miles from the clamorous city, in the midst of the swamps of rice cultivators and fishermen, may be descried an institution which means much and is typical of a great deal more. On the left, as the steamer strains against the flood of the Canton river, emerges what looks at first like a mass of red and white poppies upon the brown mud bank. The poppy-heads are tied to withered sticks. They grow, as the steamer approaches, into Chinese banners on the masts of a fleet of wooden guard-boats: the hulls do not become visible at once, since they are almost exactly the same colour as the mud upon which they have been beached. These guard-boats are propelled by sails stiffened like gigantic Japanese fans, with frequent ribs of split bamboo. They can run down a river pirate junk, and might even pour a volley of buckshot upon its crew; but they belong to the China which has already passed away. Out



in the dun-coloured stream, where the water from the far hills of Yunnan goes swirling down to the China Sea, a couple of lemon-coloured torpedo-boats sulk in the grey midday light of a Kwangtung fog. These torpedo-boats, like the badly-kept Krupp guns of the forts at the river mouth, belong to the formidable but still inefficient China of to-day.

Upon the shore beyond the poppy-bed, strolling about after a lecture given by smart Japanese officers, are a number of well turned out Chinese cadets in black uniforms, with queues curled up inside their forage-caps. A boatload came aboard the steamer, for it was the eve of the Ching-Ming festival of ancestors, and great-grand-parents' graves, upon the hillsides further up the river, must be honourably decorated, though descendants may be engaged upon modern tactics and strategy that may change the map of Asia. The lads are independent little fellows, who are confident that they will be the Kurokis and the Togos of the China of to-morrow. I met nobody who could tell me how many of them there are; but the Wampu training college by the poppy-bed is evidently extensive; and it is but one of many of its kind in different parts of the country. The training colleges are connected with the modern arsenals, rifle factories, and gun foundries which Chinese viceroys are industriously erecting. They are turning out officers as different from the mandarins of the past as the modern mauser rifles and cartridges, which the factories are producing by the hundred

thousand and the million, are different from the ancient blunderbusses with which the Chinese forces of yesterday were armed.

The guards of the pagoda gates in Canton are still the effete mannikins of the past. They have antiquated rifles, which they handed me readily to examine as I passed on a tourist round of the sights. The barrels were clean, but the cartridge chambers were empty, and no ammunition could be found to show me. The weapons have no military significance, though they are about as useful as most of those with which the corresponding police in India are provided, and have bayonets which might be of service in the comparatively peaceful duty of controlling a Chinese crowd.

The ancient battle-axes and muskets of a yet older belligerence are also in use. They are to be seen at the iron gates, which separate the spacious foreigners' settlement from the herded Chinese city, where policemen in scarlet stomachers and tarpaulin hats guard night and day, as they have guarded for decades, the unwelcome strangers from the West, who are allowed to do their present business freely, because the armament which is proceeding is not yet sufficient to enable China effectively to discourage them.

Evidence of this feeling was to be seen in every local newspaper, oddly reminiscent of the spirit and phrasing of the rampant Bengali press in Calcutta. Extracts published in the Anglo-Chinese papers of

the south, during my stay in Canton, gave prominence to allegations centreing round three particular Chinese viceroys. The Chinese public was naïvely told that Viceroy Yuan-Shih-Kai was moving in connection with preparations for the establishment of constitutional government in Peking, and that he had selected representatives to study the manufacture of arms in Europe. Viceroy Chan-Chi-Tung was described, in less masterful language, as asking for and obtaining the permission of the throne to establish an exclusively Chinese railway engineering school at Wuchang. Viceroy Shum Huen himself published the text of a long resolution in which he made over the control of the whole of the immensely important railways about Canton to a company composed of Chinese gentry and merchants. Other extracts gave the Chinese public to understand that the grip of the foreigner upon the country was being everywhere loosened, that the fortifications upon the Yangtse were to be increased; and that fresh enterprise for the future, and especially fresh enterprise in railways, was to be kept entirely in Chinese hands. There is no doubt about the energy with which this paper agitation is being carried on. The movement has a patriotic basis; but its more immediate motive power appears to lie in a firm belief, upon the part of the mandarins, that railway enterprise in China will be fabulously profitable, and that its spoils must not be allowed to pass into pockets other than their own.

Rumour and speculation are predominant, but there is no lack of accomplished fact. It was unnecessary to go further than the railways at the gates of Canton to observe an example, in the shape of an immensely important undertaking begun by Europeans and now in the hands of Chinese.

I give the particulars as I gleaned them from men upon the spot, some told in the little yellow American cars that are plying upon the Canton-Fatshan-Samshui line, others in Canton and Hongkong offices. The Canton-Samshui railway was built by the American-China Development Company, who were the original holders of a concession from the Chinese Government for the much-discussed grand trunk railway from Canton to Hankow. The section that has been constructed is a branch about thirty miles long. It carries passengers backwards and forwards across the delta between Canton and Samshui, the latter place being a port upon the main stream, whereas Canton is upon a tributary. Any day affords an opportunity of seeing the enormous demand which is greeting the introduction of this still novel facility from the West. The river feeds the rail. On the day of my visit I noted a big, flat-bottomed steamboat, with four immense open decks, towering one above another, each loaded with a black mass of Chinese humanity, which was forcing her way up the river through an almost solid collection of the rickety sampan boats plying for hire about the port. The flat lurched heavily in spite of her enormous beam,

when a partial movement to see the approaching shore took place on board, and might have capsized with less stolidly fatalistic passengers, who would have made a more general rush.

Other vessels, with two and three equally over-crowded decks, were arriving from both up and down stream; and sampans besieged them all. The ferry-women touting for fares gabbled like ten thousand geese. The city drowsed upon one bank, the electric lights barely extinguished in its gambling dens, and wrapped us in the odour which emerges from every gathering of Chinese dwellings—an odour suggestive of freshly lacquered coffins, fried grease, and badly constructed drains. Upon the other bank stood the iron sheds of the railway station, into which broad streams of people were pouring from the boats. Industrious little trains trotted up one after another and carried off the contents of passenger pens, which were refilled as fast as the people vacated them to get into the carriages. The process continued until my own steamer left, and is presumably going on now. I was not surprised to hear that the railway was taking an annual thirty per cent. upon its capital cost, although it confined itself to the passenger traffic, and did not attempt to cope with goods.

The permanent way is on the standard four-feet eight-inches gauge, and is laid with substantial seventy-five pound rails. The track is double and stone-ballasted for a dozen miles to Fatshan, after which it is single and ballasted only with sand.

The section upon the northern bank of the river, of what Continental optimists once hoped would become the connecting link in an all-Gallic railway, through the very centre of China, to join Annam with the Siberian system, lies neglected and unused. The Samshui branch points southwards towards French territory. The northern embankment beckons towards Hankow; but that is all that has yet been accomplished. The Russo-Japanese war has changed the ownership of the Manchurian connection. The Hankow-Peking portion alone remains as it was originally designed.

The Samshui branch is worked by a Chinese staff, presided over by two capable Americans, who are in the service of the Chinese Government. Negotiations are going on for the construction, as a purely Chinese undertaking, of the Canton-Hankow line; and the Viceroy of the Cantonese province has been endeavouring to get the work begun. He appears to have failed to raise the necessary money direct, so has handed over the whole concern to an association which calls itself the General Chamber of Commerce of China Merchants. The official proclamation announcing the transfer indicates "nine large charitable institutions and seventy-two guilds" to hold the property, as a temporary measure, while the China Merchants are arranging to increase the capital of the two million dollars they have actually collected, to the twenty million required to finance the building of the line to Hankow. The undertaking is capable of paying exceedingly

handsome interest on the capital that would be required if the work were under economical European management. I heard in Hongkong that the China Merchants can command the money that is wanted. It has now to be seen to what extent the endeavour to keep the company exclusively Chinese will succeed, and whether, in that case, construction will proceed as it should.

In the meantime, yet another important railway project, and this time a British one, has come into existence—the Hongkong-Canton Railway. This line is to connect the mainland side of the Hongkong harbour with Canton. The country to be traversed is easy; and the linking up of a British port, which now claims to handle more shipping than London, with the biggest Chinese city in the world, is certain to be profitable. The permanent way for the section through British territory, about thirty miles long, has been aligned by the British Administration of Hongkong under Sir Matthew Nathan. The portion through Chinese territory, which is not so very much longer, is to be built by Chinese agency when and if the money is forthcoming. A beginning has been made upon the British side; and a track, which now serves as a road, has been laid out for a few miles from the sea. Confident announcements have lately been published that the indigenous section is arranged for; but the traveller is not long in China before he learns to believe only in what he sees, and no beginning had been made when I was upon the spot.

The city of Canton is the focus of the life of Southern China. The Portuguese recognised this centuries ago when they built, at the mouth of its shallow river, their harbour of Macao, which prospered exceedingly until ocean-going ships outgrew the depth of its anchorage and transferred their patronage to its successful British rival, Hongkong, leaving Macao to decay into a refuge for insolvent debtors and a nest of gambling-houses. Hongkong may justify all its pretensions, but its prosperity is dependent upon the fact that it possesses the nearest deep-water harbour to Canton, and is the point where Cantonese river craft transfer their produce to modern liners.

The Cantonese are agitators as well as traders, and nurse many schemes besides that of doing without the European. There is no doubt that a movement has long flourished amongst them, directed to no less a purpose than the overthrow of the present dynasty and the restoration of pure Chinese rule. This is aimed in part against Yuan-Shih-Kai, but is also a manifestation of the feeling which is at the root of the anti-foreign movement that affects the European. To this sentiment the Manchu is only less an outsider than the Englishman. The Cantonese is the same intractable to-day that he has been for ages. He hates to be interfered with even by a race so long and so closely related to him as are his fellow-Mongolians from further north. He is the Bengali of China, quicker witted than the more manly races of the northern provinces,

but also less to be relied upon. Intrigue and finesse, not swords or guns, are his national weapons for both offence and defence. He will leave any physical fighting that may have to be done to his countrymen of the north, though he will figure as prominently, when it comes to a division of the spoil that may be won, as if he had taken his full share of hardship and danger. When the Peking Government was at war with Japan, the Cantonese looked on while the armies of Chihli marched against the invading forces of the Mikado. Nevertheless, when Yuan-Shih-Kai was setting to work after peace had been restored to lay the foundation of that modernising movement which makes such lavish promises for the future, his unpopularity in South China did not prevent him from turning to Canton for some of his best-qualified and best-paid lieutenants.

The military academy and torpedo-boats outside Canton may be less important, as items in the military preparations of China, than corresponding arrangements at such a place as Tientsin. The southern provinces are no doubt rather noisy and truculent than possessed of present fighting efficiency; but they are animated by as strong a determination as any of their fellows to become possessed of the power of offence which modern armaments afford; and in the meantime, like Bengal, they are not less conspicuous for being more articulate.

CHAPTER IV

THE ANTI-FOREIGN MOVEMENT IN MIDDLE CHINA

NOBODY can be many days in Shanghai without hearing rumours of vaguely anticipated trouble. The European exploring the native city may walk from one dark end of the narrow alleys to the other, through groves of illuminated name-boards, armies of chair-coolies, and hordes of pariahs, without more embarrassment than is occasioned by hurrying masses of busy humanity intent solely upon their own affairs. Coolies, laden with hides, kerosine oil-tins, or yet more unsavoury burdens, hustle their way through the crowd with warning shouts that are as strident and aggressive when a white man is in the way as when only their own countryfolk have to be thrust against the wall. Jinrickshaw runners, when inadvertently overpaid, do not hesitate to add a detaining hand to arguments to prove they should receive yet more. London cab-drivers and Marseilles luggage-porters no doubt behave to the stranger, under corresponding circumstances, in ways that are at least as offensive; but better manners are so largely the rule to the east of Suez,

that European Shanghai may well suspect what looks like a change for the worse. The revolver, unusual in China, has been added to the equipment of some of the men employed in connection with the electric tramway that is to be laid down in the Shanghai streets, in consequence of persistent stories that an attempt will be made to interfere with construction.

Signs of racial friction are much less marked than was the case in Calcutta at the time of the anti-partition agitation; but their existence is recognised by merchants whose long experience of China excludes the supposition that there is any mistake. The jetties, factories, and docks of the city have never been more active. Money is being made and business transacted upon a scale that fully maintains the claim of Shanghai to be considered the Manchester of the Far East. On the splendid wharves and jetties that astonish the visitor by their extent and activity, and in the spacious streets and palatial offices that stand for a prosperity which enriches a million Chinese inhabitants, exists nevertheless a feeling of insecurity which is not the less real because it is indefinite, nor lacking in significance because there are those who deny the reasonableness of the grounds on which it is based.

I found the possibility of another rising common talk at every dinner-table. "I've had to hide, before now, for two days in a cellar to escape a riot, and I see signs of another coming," was said to me

by the head of an important concern who thought the general outlook threatening. The traveller might have heard similar prophecies any time within the last fifteen years in India, where half a century of peace may have made the European imaginative. But people who have lived in China for ten years are usually experts in riots, of one dimension or another, and are better acquainted, like my friend, with the indications.

I have endeavoured to ascertain how this feeling has arisen in so far as it is new; and I gather that several incidents have been contributing causes. First and foremost is the Shanghai riot of December, 1905. This was a very small affair of itself. A mob collected; a Sikh policeman was rough-handled and killed; a few Europeans were damaged and some shops were looted. The streets were cleared by bluejackets and volunteers; a few volleys were fired, a score of rioters were wounded, and the thing was over. The trouble arose from an inter-racial dispute in which the Chinese took the side of their own officials. The widow of an unimportant up-country mandarin arrived in the settlement with a number of slave-girls, and was arrested by the European authorities on the charge of having kidnapped her companions. The Chinese officials claimed that their own jail, and not the settlement jail, was the proper place for her incarceration. The native newspapers published exaggerated stories directed to showing that the Europeans were encroaching upon Chinese

prerogatives. Although the question was entirely technical, race feeling was aroused; and the matter was complicated by a natural impression amongst the Europeans that the Chinese officials were egging it on. It is alleged that the bringing of the roughs who made the disturbance into the settlement was connived at, that the Chinese troops and police were not used as they should have been to suppress the trouble, and that sufficiently prompt and vigorous measures were not subsequently adopted to arrest the ringleaders.

The Taotai, or Chinese Governor of Shanghai, was especially blamed, and complaint was so insistent that he was eventually removed from his office by the Peking Government, as a concession to the Europeans. Immediately afterwards, however, he was given the signal honour of promotion to the Governorship of Peking, which produced the impression that his sympathy with the rioters was shared by the supreme authority in the country. The subsequent disturbance at Nanchang, of which I shall have more to say hereafter, where a number of missionaries were murdered by a Chinese mob, added to the tension of the situation. Rumours of large fresh importations of modern weapons and ammunition upon the part of the Chinese Government, and undeniable activity in the arsenals and cantonments in different parts of the country, are pointed to as further evidence of the existence of a definite movement hostile to the foreign element in China.

Every kind of exaggeration has resulted from this state of affairs. I heard of Europeans who had packed up their possessions in order to facilitate escape when the rising should begin. The more phlegmatic looked upon disturbances only as a possible and not as an unavoidable contingency. The British official view in Shanghai was also reassuring; though the fact could not be got over that negotiations with the Chinese Government were at a standstill in connection with most of the pending concessions to Europeans for railways and other commercial enterprises. It must be added that I met both Englishmen and Americans, especially amongst the missionaries, whose views are entitled to weight on account of their close association with the Chinese, who did not consider that the general attitude of the people had become more hostile of late. One of them, indeed, a missionary of experience, whom I interviewed in the village in which he is working within a hundred miles of Nanchang, assured me that the only alteration he had observed was the very marked one which took place after the relief of the Legations in 1900, when some respect for foreigners was introduced for the first time in his experience. He maintained that there had been since then no change for the worse. This missionary was able to speak with candour of the objectionable as well as of the admirable qualities of the Chinese. He is one of the very few white men in the country possessed of any profound knowledge of their extraordinarily difficult

language, and I found scholars in Shanghai who confirmed what he told me. Their view was that the alarm is confined to those engaged in business, who are not, as a rule, acquainted with Chinese, the majority of the British merchants in Shanghai being contented, they alleged, to work through compradors, and being thus in a position to obtain their information only at second-hand. They explained the fact that roughs were allowed to enter Shanghai on the occasion of the riot, by the somewhat unconvincing statement that the city has an open frontage five miles long which cannot be guarded easily. The extent of the area concerned and the imperfection of the Chinese official organisation were cited in answer to the charge of supineness in the matter of suppressing the disturbance and arresting the ringleaders.

The nature of the calling of the missionary inclines him to view his relations with the people in a hopeful spirit, here as elsewhere. Such hopefulness may sometimes err on the side of charity, and should not fail to be discounted to that extent. A reply given by the Taotai of Shanghai, when he was approached by the United States Consular authorities with a view to inducing him to prohibit the boycott of American goods in Middle China, throws a good deal of light upon the situation. It was pointed out to him that Yuan-Shih-Kai had stopped the boycott movement in Peking, by the simple expedient of issuing an official proclamation against it. His answer was to the effect that what

was practicable in the north was utterly impossible in Middle China.

"The people of Shanghai," he said, "are no longer subservient to authority. They have learnt from the foreigner to think and to act for themselves. They have become independent, and guard so jealously free liberty to buy or to refuse to buy from whom they will, that any attempt upon my part to interfere in the matter would have exactly the opposite effect to what is intended. It would itself create further disturbance and set the people more strongly than before upon the course they have determined to adopt."

This attitude upon the part of the Chinese official is characteristic, and it accounts for a very great deal. British merchants read into it that the Chinese officials are actively hostile. Apologists consider that they are well-meaning but helpless. With regard to the promotion of the Taotai after the riot, I can only report the explanation I found current. The conservatism of China is a proverb. Although Shanghai is one of the biggest and most prosperous cities in China, it is only sixty years old. Its Taotai is therefore a mere magistrate, subordinate to the Viceroy of ancient Nanking, important only in decay. Under ordinary circumstances, promotion from the Shanghai Taotaiship to the governorship of Peking would merit the interpretation which members of the mercantile community have placed upon it; but in this particular case the circumstances were special. The Taotai of the

moment was related by marriage to several high officials at Peking, including Yuan-Shih-Kai himself. Some months prior to the riot he had been given the honorary title of Provincial Treasurer, which qualified him to look for elevation to a governorship. The outcry raised against him by the foreign element is sufficient to account for a not necessarily premeditated movement upon the part of his own people in his favour. His selection for the governorship of Peking was the outcome of such movement. These explanations leave untouched the fact that though inter-racial relations may or may not be worse, they are undeniably bad. The official concerned may not impossibly play a more prominent part in the future than in the past. His own estimate of himself, given to a distinguished American missionary in Shanghai some time prior to the riot, may be quoted. "I am one," he said, "who can always be led easily but never driven." The Shanghai merchants may have failed to discern this feature of his character.

The armament question in Shanghai is less difficult to understand, as both the city itself and the lower reaches of the Yangtse river afford abundant evidence of what is going on. By the courtesy of the officials I was permitted to go over the Kiang-Nan arsenal and gun factory, which stands upon the river bank three miles above the city of Shanghai. Here I found the manufacture of 1888 pattern mauser rifles, of about ·302 bore, in full operation. The plant is complete though not very modern, and

is working up to its full capacity. Some three hundred Chinese workmen are employed, and the out-turn is from twelve to thirteen finished rifles daily, the total number made in a month being about three hundred. To arm a hundred thousand men from this factory would thus take a quarter of a century; but it must be remembered that the works are but one out of many sources of supply. The rifles are rough but serviceable, and are claimed to have an average deviation of not more than about three feet at five hundred yards' range. The barrels are turned upon the lathe, and the details of mechanism are cut out by machines, each devoted to some one part. The stocks are shaped mechanically, from yellow wood imported from Korea. All the machines are driven by steam power. The steel is smelted upon the premises, the ingredients being scrap-iron purchased locally and hematite ore imported from the Hupeh province. The furnaces comprise two up-to-date installations of the Siemens open-hearth pattern, one being of fifteen tons' capacity and the other of three tons. There are also two air-blast furnaces, one of five tons' capacity and the other somewhat smaller, which are used for cast-iron work. The plant includes steam-driven rolling-mills for both steel bars and sheets, also hydraulic steel-pressing plant, lathes, planing, boring, cutting, and rifling machinery big enough to admit of the handling of guns up to twelve-inch calibre. I saw in the shops two 9·2 guns, two six-inch guns, and one 4·7 gun of modern design with Armstrong

pattern breech action, which I was told had been built upon the premises from rough castings imported from Europe. A disappearing carriage for one of the 9·2 guns was being made in the shops, but I saw no big guns actually under manufacture.

A beautiful naval twelve-pounder with Armstrong breech action, a couple of eleven-pounder mountain guns, and one twelve-pounder field gun with Nordenfeldt breech-blocks were standing ready for delivery, also a twelve-pounder field gun on low carriage with Japanese-pattern recoil fork attached to the wheels. A couple of pompoms, two 9·2 guns, and several six-inch guns were also upon the premises for repair, but these were said to have been imported. They were from a Chinese cruiser which had run aground upon the coast. The guns appeared to be in excellent order; the barrels were absolutely free from marks of corrosion. The six-inch and 4·7 weapons were fitted with spring and oil-cylinder recoil absorbers, some of which were under repair. The biggest guns which the factory has built were four twelve-inch weapons used at Wei-hai-wei in the Chino-Japanese war, of which two were subsequently carried off to Japan for use by the Mikado's forces. The guns have outer steel sheaths shrunk over inner steel cores, but no wire-winding plant could be shown to me. The story of the building of the twelve-inch guns seemed to me incredible, when first I heard it, though at least one lathe capable of taking such monsters was upon the premises; but

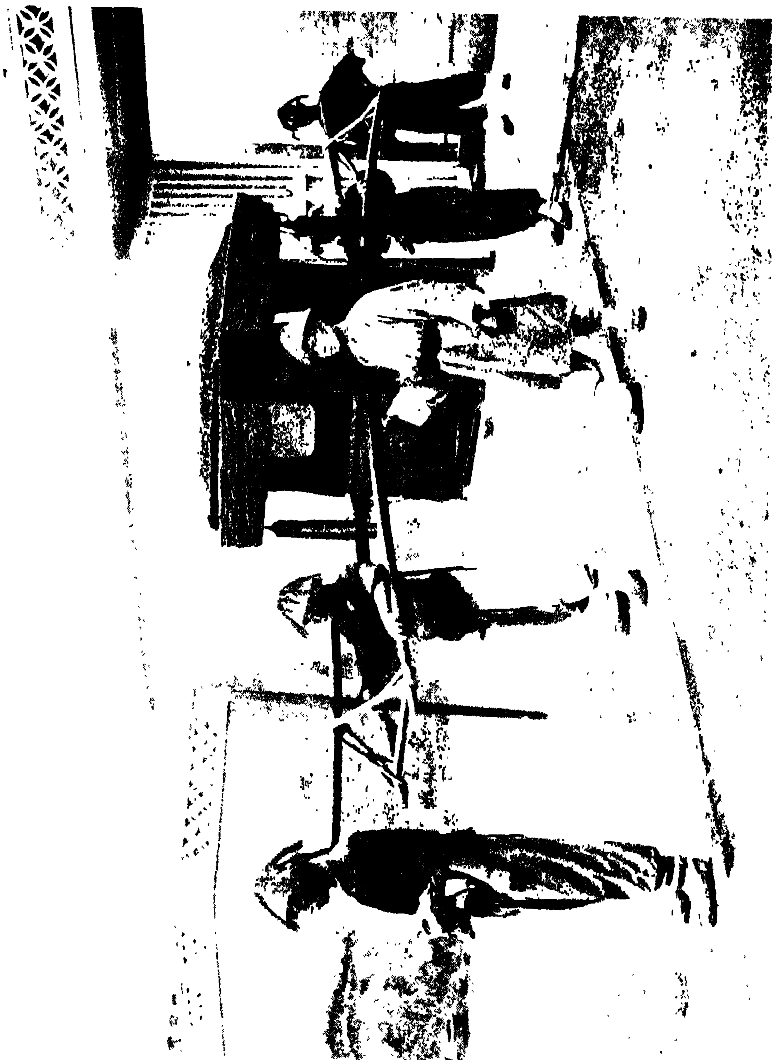
confirmation has since reached me. The work must have taken a long time to execute. There is no doubt about the capacity of the shops to manufacture smaller ordnance. The possible out-turn of twelve-pounder field guns is about fifty per annum, in addition to other work. The latest addition to the plant is a fine hydraulic steel tension testing machine, but no laboratory for proving the chemical composition is upon the premises. Cast-iron shells up to the 9·2 size, with percussion fuses, were to be seen in small numbers, and the introduction of plant for making time-fuses and forged steel shell is being talked about.

The works are staffed by Chinese artisans under Chinese foremen, with two English engineers—Messrs. Cornish and Atkinson—who supervise the getting out of new plant and are responsible for the surprisingly high standard of the work. A courteous Chinese gentleman acts as secretary to the concern.

Connected with the arsenal is a graving-dock capable of taking a second-class cruiser. Attached are extensive repairing shops. The fuse shop in the factory is now being dismantled, with a view, I understand, to erection in some more isolated locality up-country. At Loong-Hwa, a couple of miles further up the river and some five miles from Shanghai, is a Chinese powder and small-arms ammunition factory under Japanese management. It produces a modified cordite with such high explosive qualities as to have given some trouble

in the rifles. It is here that the mauser cartridges are turned out.

I was desirous of seeing the Chinese forts which guard the mouth of the river at Wusung a dozen miles below Shanghai. These are said to be capable of shutting off from communication with the outside world the whole city of Shanghai with all its cotton-mills, docks, and sixteen thousand foreigners, as a cork shuts a bottle. A hot morning spent in interviewing smiling Chinese officials in the gaily-papered booths in the heart of the native city, which do duty as the yamen of the present Taotai of Shanghai, though backed by an introduction of authority, resulted only in the reference by telegraph to the Viceroy of Nanking of the weighty question whether I might go inside the fortifications. I therefore contented myself with an examination from without the walls. I ran out from Shanghai, by a well-appointed all-British railway, which is part of the British and Chinese corporation's line to Nanking. The permanent way was open only for a few miles on both sides of Shanghai, but was shortly to be completed to Suchau, and to Nanking by September, 1907. The original concession from the Chinese Government contemplated future extensions to the rich cities of Hangchau and Ningpo, on some of the wonderful old canals that once connected the Yangtse with Canton; but the China-for-the-Chinese movement has intervened, and there is a typical hitch. The Chinese Government allege



that they granted the concession upon the supposition that they could not raise the capital for themselves, and that it now lapses as this state of things has changed with the growing confidence of the local gentry in the profitableness of railway enterprise. An appeal lies to the British Government. Meanwhile I passed a number of engines, in all stages of construction from imported parts, and was told by a friendly Sikh policeman, in unexpected English, that I had reached the terminus at Wusung forts.

The line ended abruptly a quarter of a mile from the fortifications, and a tumble-down jinrickshaw was soon trundling me to the spot. There proved to be an earthen rampart twenty feet high upon the low river-bank, close to the water at a point where the navigable channel contracts into a narrow gut. On the top of the wall, without cover of any sort, beyond what was afforded by shrapnel-proof steel shields, were half a dozen six-inch and 4·7-inch guns. There was nothing wrong with the weapons. The waterway was completely commanded; but behind the guns was nothing but a low mud wall which enclosed a strip of ground a few yards broad. The country around is a low alluvial flat without obstacle of any kind to interfere with a landing, either above or below the fortifications. An enterprising enemy would know what to do under these circumstances, if his own guns proved insufficient to silence those of the fort.

Chinese sentries, armed with mauser rifles from

the factory, were on duty in blue canvas uniforms at the gates, and a typical Chinese travesty of a modern manœuvre was in progress in a field near by. A squad of some forty Chinese had been arranged on a line in close order. An instructor stood in front. At the first word of command the men all lay down with deliberation. At the second, they got up slowly. At the third, they marched funereally forward in step for exactly ten paces. At the fourth, they all lay down again and the process recommenced. The only disquieting feature was revealed inside one of the gates, where some bell-shaped metal receptacles, chained to others that were like enormous drums, suggested that the expedient of mining the navigable channel had not been overlooked. Whether the mines would go off in case of need would depend upon those doubts of honesty and efficiency which dominate everything else in China.

I left Shanghai at night by one of the sumptuous British-owned river boats which ply to Hankow, six hundred miles up the mud-laden Yangtse river. The following day at Kiangyin, a little below the treaty port of Chiukiang, a sight presented itself which points to the Chinese Government's having done to the main central waterway of their marvellous country exactly what the Wusung forts endeavour to effect in connection with the Shanghai river. At Kiangyin a hilly promontory juts out from a line of neighbouring heights and squeezes the waterway, which was previously like the Bristol

Channel, into a river which appears to be scarcely a mile across. Glasses enabled me to make out upon the hillside two modern "long toms," which were either nine-inch or twelve-inch Krupp guns. There were also half a dozen smaller weapons which appeared to be of about six-inch and 4·7-inch calibre.

The Nanking Viceroy has now in all some thirty thousand men with whom to hold these and other positions. The tumble-down city of Nanking, at which the boat stopped next morning in cold, driving rain to put out cargo and some of the two thousand Chinese it carried on its lower decks, was full of these warriors, and drilling was going on industriously. The men were armed with mausers.

A further day's journey up the river to Kiukiang were further forts guarding the narrow entrance to the Poyang lake. In these the guns were hidden; but local information, which I believe to be trustworthy, had it that they were both heavy and modern.

The river teems with laden junks, and is stirred to its muddy bottom by frequent flats. Even ocean-going steamers are sometimes to be met. Upon the low banks were cultivators in the eternal blue, labouring night and day at the pumps with which they irrigate thousands of square miles of some of the richest crops in the world. Always at the treaty ports where I went ashore were well-built stone houses and prosperous Europeans, also swarming

Chinese cities. Everywhere were signs of the enormous traffic which the Chinese guns profess to protect, but everywhere also was the belief that this protection does not bode well for the interests of the foreigner.

CHAPTER V

THE MISSIONARY

A LUXURIOUSLY fitted steam flat conveys travellers for six hundred miles up the Yangtse river, from the seaport of Shanghai to the hardly less busy river-port of Hankow. Creaking junks slip downstream, conveying raw cotton, green tea, country-made paper, hides, and oil seeds, to be placed on board ocean-going steamers for Europe. Others toil up by oar, sail, and wonderful hand paddle-wheels, full of Manchester piece-goods, Sheffield cutlery, and American kerosine oil, for stations on branch rivers in the far interior. Neglected pagodas, muddy rice-fields, swampy reed-beds and creeks suffocating with anchored junks and poisoned with the emanations of humanity, march monotonously past on either bank, as the powerful steam-engines strain and throb against the swirling ochre flood.

More noticeable than junks, crops, and native cities are the nine-inch Krupp guns which again and again poke menacing noses out of modern fortifications upon the hills, and the imposing mis-

sionary houses and churches that occupy as commanding and even more frequent locations. I place the churches and the guns in juxtaposition, here as on the shore, for there is more than physical propinquity to connect them. The missionaries become a factor in the situation before Shanghai has dropped fifty miles into the rear, and they grow steadily in importance further on. For each European layman who joins the vessel at the smaller intermediate ports, about two clerics may be expected. At wayside stations where I landed I always met missionaries, and often no other white people. The tenacity of purpose with which the missionaries work, in the face of opposition from the Chinese and discouragement from their own fellow-countrymen, must strike every visitor. A typical propagandist in Middle China said to me frankly—

"I preach to empty benches; but that is the look-out of the Chinese. I give them my best. If they will not hear I am not responsible."

He was living with his wife and children in a solitary mission-house overlooking a native city. All the members of his household wore Chinese dress, to facilitate their intercourse with their neighbours, and lived plain lives of industry and daily self-denial. The missionary had acquired some reputation for medical skill, and the Chinese availed themselves freely of it. Amongst his patients, at the time of my visit, was a feeble individual, who had travelled a long distance for

physic for that common Chinese ailment which I can describe only as opium poisoning. The man was ill from over-indulgence, and went to the missionary, as a matter of course, for help and encouragement in making the effort necessary to break himself of the habit. The missionary told me he had many cases of the kind, and that he was often successful with them.

It has been my good fortune to make the acquaintance of keen American Methodists, solid Canadian Presbyterians, British Anglicans, and French Catholics, all engaged in the uphill work of carrying Christianity to the Chinese, and most of them prepared to speak frankly of their labours. As a class, the missionaries command respect. Many are good Chinese scholars. Most have travelled widely in remote regions of the interior. Their touch with the people is very much closer than is that of the mercantile community, and they play a part of a political importance that is recognised by every one in China. Their detractors, and I am sorry to say these are many, especially in mercantile and shipping circles, tacitly admit this when they declare that eighty per cent. of the trouble that has arisen between Europeans and Chinese has been connected with the missionary movement. Consular officers deplore the lack of acquaintance and consequent absence of sympathy which exists between the missionary and mercantile classes. This becomes significant when one remembers that at least throughout the greater part

of South and Central China, the merchants and the missionaries comprise between them practically the entire permanently resident European element.

The merchant does business at the ports, his transactions being large enough to affect the welfare of millions of the manufacturing classes in England and India ; but he goes little into the interior and seldom speaks the Chinese language. The missionary penetrates everywhere. In many cases he assimilates himself with the Chinese in every possible way. Generally, he speaks the difficult language of the country with fluency. Upon the whole, he lives comfortably and is upon friendly terms with the inhabitants around him. So far as he stands upon his own merits and upon those of the religion with which he is concerned, his position is admirable. Unfortunately, gunboats and political intrigue are ever behind him. If he gets into trouble with the populace, fines out of proportion to what the Chinese regard as the equivalent of the damage done to him and to his property may be exacted. If he be killed, however great may have been the provocation given unknowingly in a country where it is extraordinarily easy to offend popular susceptibilities, his death is liable to be made an excuse for pressing political demands which sometimes have little connection with him.

The merchant has difficulties with the Chinese, very similar to those with which the missionary becomes occasionally familiar; but he is more

easily protected. The riot in secular Shanghai, in December last year, was not unlike that which occurred in ecclesiastical Nanchang in February. Only in the one case volunteers, police, and blue-jackets were at hand, and the disturbance was quelled without very seriously aggravating the ever-present race question, whereas in the other the mob was unchecked. Six French priests and two English missionaries were massacred, and a wide wave of anti-foreign excitement arose which will bring yet more nine-inch Chinese guns into position.

Individuals may not be greatly to blame. The various missionary bodies are pursuing their calling to the best of their ability. They are bringing medical aid to the sick, and are preaching a higher morality than that which exists around them. The Chinese officials are also doing what they can, according to their lights. They are endeavouring to avoid friction and to govern the country with as little embarrassment as possible to themselves and their people. But a situation exists that is always potential for active trouble. The matter for wonder is only that this trouble so seldom becomes grave.

The importance of the missionary question is so considerable that I thought it worth while to go some hundreds of miles out of my road in order to visit Nanchang, a place which had acquired, by the riot I have referred to, a claim to be considered the fighting front of the church militant in China. On my way up the Yangtse and Kan rivers and

across the Poyang lake to reach Nanchang, I called at mission stations at Wulu, Kiukiang, Taku-Tang, and Wochen. I also met numerous missionaries connected with Shanghai, Nanking, and other stations. The Protestants who talked with me were unanimous in holding that there are few countries in the world in which an unarmed stranger can wander with greater personal safety than in China, provided he does not interfere with the people. Mr. L. Day, Agent of the British and Foreign Bible Society, whom I met at Kiukiang, was itinerating within thirty miles of Nanchang when the riot was going on. He received no incivility and was unaware that anything unusual was happening, until he arrived within the city walls three days after the disturbance. Both Protestant missionaries and Chinese officials consider that the riot was directed solely against the Roman Catholics and that the Protestants who perished were killed by mistake. The Catholics do not deny this, though they hold, quite properly, that the Chinese authorities could and ought to have afforded protection.

The Chinese discriminate between Catholics and Protestants because the French fathers, who represent Catholicism throughout the greater part of the country, have made themselves an active power and have thus come into collision with the mandarins; whereas this is not generally the case with the Protestants. The French have unwisely insisted upon the granting of mandarin's precedence to

their missionaries. For example, a French bishop ranks not far from a Chinese governor. The French missions are long established and have become extraordinarily well-to-do and influential. They pursue a consistent policy of backing up the members of their congregations in secular as well as in spiritual matters.

This has had exceedingly serious consequences. The Chinese is possessed of a curious indifference to death, which has won for him a not altogether deserved reputation for courage. He is liable to paroxysms of ungovernable excitement as brief as they are furious while they last, during which he may do almost anything. He is self-assertive and touchy, but timorous and suspicious at heart, to an extent which Europeans find difficulty in realising. His normal state is that of a leaf blown about by gusty alarms. He is for ever seeking something behind which to shelter himself. He sees in the Catholic organisation in China, with its European mandarins, its wealth and prestige, something similar to but infinitely more powerful than the secret societies which he has created in the hope that they may help him. He has neither sentimental nor religious objection to adding another ritual to the affairs of his daily life; and he finds in Christian baptism a means of strengthening his position in regard to his enemies. In consequence a Chinese with a lawsuit pending seeks out and joins, if he can, whichever faith seems likely to promise him the most influential support.

The Catholic Church was in his midst long before the Protestants appeared. It has opened its arms wide to receive him, believing, no doubt, that regeneration would follow conversion; and once it has embraced him, it has made his interests its own in a manner which has sometimes been more whole-hearted than discriminating. The apparent success of the system has been enormous. Chinese acknowledging a spiritual overlord in the Pope are numerous. Stately churches and extensive monasteries on commanding sites testify to the wealth that has been acquired, not wholly by means of the collection-plate. Business acumen and political influence are valuable factors in the imposing result. I have been told that this Church owns land even on the bund at Shanghai, on which important business houses are located. A fine line of French river steamers which started last April, running between Shanghai and Hankow, is said to be to some extent an ecclesiastical venture. The Protestant denominations are much poorer.

The system has the grave drawback of creating friction both with Chinese officials and with the non-Catholic populace. The mandarins have tried to play off the Protestants against the Catholics. I have heard of one instance where they succeeded temporarily, with results more startling than edifying; but the scandal ceased when the Protestant missionary specially concerned was recalled by the directors of the body to which he belonged. All important negotiations between British missionaries

and Chinese officials have now to pass through the hands of the consuls ; and I have been struck with the creditable determination I have found amongst missionaries of various Protestant denominations to avoid external assistance in pushing their tenets. Protestant progress is slow in consequence ; but the best of the representatives of this faith are on cordial terms with the Chinese officials, and are thus in a position to narrow the gulf of mutual suspicion which lies between themselves and their neighbours.

CHAPTER VI

THE NEMESIS OF THE MIXED MOTIVE

I ARRIVED at Nanchang late one afternoon, on the first British-owned trading steamer to visit the place after the riot. Blue-clad inhabitants crowded the river-bank, and thrust eager, half-shaven heads out of every visible door and window. A steamer was evidently an event. Following experienced advice, I stepped, uninvited, into a dinghy manned by Chinese soldiers in black uniforms embroidered with red characters, which lay amongst a mass of native craft besieging the steamer. I was sculled promptly to the nearest guard-house upon the bank. Here I found myself in the embarrassing position of a fragile curiosity thrust into unwilling hands, which would be held answerable for any damage that might befall it. A guard of soldiers was told off to follow me; and though there was no menace in the air the curiosity of the crowd was not wholly friendly. My guards tackled their troublesome responsibility with noisy officiousness; and the people were shouted at and thrust out of the path with a com-

motion that brought comers and goers from distant thoroughfares to supplement the occasion. The city contains a million inhabitants. No doubt the number who assembled was but a microscopic fraction of the whole, but I found it quite big enough to be convincing.

The place is of the characteristic Chinese type, which huddles together closely for protection within a high wall, crenellated and moated. There is no room for streets. Dark, narrow passages serve for both highways and sewers, so my progress was not as fast as I should have liked to make it; but I reached the fine Methodist-Episcopal Mission building outside the city at last, where I was received with kindness and courtesy. Within its walls I learnt something of the quiet lives of unselfish devotion which missionaries lead in out-of-the-way parts of China, and saw one of the hospitals in which sick and infirm Chinese are nursed. In due course I was given particulars of the catastrophe which had overwhelmed, only six weeks previously, all the branches of Christian endeavour inside the city, and narrowly missed those without.

The Methodist-Episcopal missionaries live in three roomy houses in a big, open compound, close to the river. I found a wall in course of erection around this compound, and was surprised at the slightness of its structure. The entire mission had so recently emerged from urgent danger that I supposed the wall could be for no other purpose

than to resist mob violence, for which, however, its proportions were totally insufficient. I remarked upon this to the Rev. Edward James, the head of the station, and was told that it was simply to keep sneak thieves from the garden. It was a comment upon the ordinary and the extraordinary risks of mission life.

Late at night I returned to the steamer, my guardians splashing in front through an odorous ankle-deep mire, which became constantly more liquid as the rain added to its volume, though I stumbled occasionally over granite paving-blocks. The populace was then in bed, and the procession in front of me swayed weirdly in the feeble glow of two enormous square lanterns, covered with yellow oiled paper bearing red characters, which bobbed up and down at the ends of long, willowy sticks.

At the river-bank we scrambled out of the mud, over a fleet of wobbly junks and dinghies to get to our boat. I was climbing, in the darkness, over an ancient muzzle-loading cannon, on the stern of a queer, square vessel, when two large pieces of red paper, mysterious with Chinese, were thrust into my hand. The lanterns were brought to assist, and I was bidden, in cheerful pigeon English, to "pay" two cards back. I demanded to be presented to my visitors, but was told they were asleep upon the Chinese guard-boat which, it appeared, I was crossing. So they were not my visitors but my hosts, and they had gone to bed; but I was not to escape the due circumstance of the occasion.

Eventually I reached the ship, where my lantern-bearers lowered my self-conceit by declining, with good-humoured condescension, the payment I ventured to offer them.

The following morning a tall Chinese guard-boat captain, Wu Mei Ting, presented himself, and proved to be a capital fellow. He had been told off by the foreign department of the local yamen, thanks to the kind offices of my friends of the previous evening, to conduct me over the city. Wu Mei Ting took me in hand conscientiously. The ship's comprador's mate was summoned to interpret what we had to say to each other. A posse of Chinese police was added to the party, and in a body we inspected the charred ruins of the monastery, the schools, and the mission-house, as the mob had left them, and traced the locations of the various fatal tragedies of the riot, about which my companion could speak with the authority of experience.

At the time of the disturbances Wu Mei Ting was in command of a single wooden guard-boat on the river, the size of a London coal-lighter, which carried a muzzle-loading cannon of pre-Taiping date, and had a crew of five Chinese bluejackets armed with ancient Spandal repeating rifles. At no small risk to himself, but without firing a shot, Wu Mei Ting made his way through the mob, and rescued and brought into safety several European missionaries, including ladies and children, who were hiding precariously in different parts of the city. The trouble had roots which went a long way back, but its

immediate cause was the ignorant but honest indignation on the part of the Chinese at what they believed to have been a crime committed by Roman Catholic hands. The well-known story is that a mandarin magistrate, who had a misunderstanding with the French fathers over some disputes he was responsible for adjusting, met his death as the sequel to self-inflicted injuries received after dinner in the monastery. Two distinct charges were brought by the Chinese against the French fathers. One was that of having put the mandarin into such a position that he saw no alternative to suicide as a means of escape from loss of "face," which respectable Chinese dread more than death. The other was the incredibly horrible one of having endeavoured to murder the self-wounded man after he had bungled in cutting his own throat.

To Europeans these two charges seem totally distinct in nature and of very different degree. The mandarin undoubtedly attempted suicide within the walls of the monastery, and a further injury was afterwards done to him; but it does not follow that the unfortunate French fathers who were massacred were to blame. A British naval doctor, who examined the corpse of the mandarin some time after death, considered that all the injuries were suicidal, but the examination could not be held soon enough to establish this opinion beyond dispute; and in view of the evidence of Dr. Charles, of the Methodist-Episcopal Mission, who also saw the remains, the Protestant missionary bodies have

wisely refrained from depending upon it. Even if it be rejected altogether an alternative explanation remains, which is accepted in some of the best-informed European circles in Middle China. This explanation suggests that the second injury was inflicted by the Chinese, after the sufferer had been carried off from the monastery. The murder, if murder occurred, would then be attributable either to desire upon the part of Chinese political agitators to inflame the passions of the mob against Europeans, or else to the less diabolical intention of carrying out the wishes of the would-be suicide.

The majority of the Chinese of Nanchang did not stop to consider any of these possibilities, but greedily swallowed the monstrous allegation that the French fathers had murdered the mandarin. A minority, who might otherwise have hesitated, seem to have been carried away by a typically mandarin argument that the owners of a house in which an ultimately fatal suicide occurs are responsible for the catastrophe, even although they may have had no direct connection with it.

The antecedents of the riot are likely to remain always a matter for surmise, but the events of the disturbance itself are well ascertained. A mob-meeting was held, and broke up with cries of "*Dah! Dah! Dahsz!*" (Strike! Strike! Kill!), and then occurred an indiscriminate massacre of foreigners. The Chinese authorities had posted guards to protect the missionaries when the riot threatened, and from the Chinese point of view the

men were true to their charge. They did not dare to take the responsibility upon themselves of firing upon the mob or of charging it with the bayonet, when such a course alone would have saved the situation; but they remonstrated with the rioters. One of them even threw his arms round the most unpopular of the priests and shouted, "Kill me, but do not hurt this foreigner," getting his own head laid open in consequence by a blow intended for the priest. Another soldier hid a little European child under his coat, thereby saving its life. The Chinese have no Riot Act, and except when aroused, as the mob was on this occasion, are possessed by such fear of responsibility and such aversion to shedding blood that it is easy to picture the guards vacillating until it was too late. There may have been scarcity, or even entire absence of cartridges for the antiquated rifles with which they were provided; but bayonets were available in any requisite quantity; and there need have been no difficulty in calling in from outside troops armed with serviceable weapons.

With these things in mind I stood upon a yellow chunk of slippery granite, in an evil-smelling slough of slimy filth, where were recovered the poor battered remains of Mr. and Mrs. Kingham, British missionaries. Wu Mei Ting dripped cheerfully in the rain, under a black European umbrella on the bank above me, while I fumbled with cold, wet fingers over a combination of aperture and exposure in vain endeavour to photograph a black, closely-

barred door under a grey brick arch, where the victims took temporary refuge before they were killed.

Alongside, balanced unsteadily on the nail-heads as big as marbles of their greasy brown leather boots, were a dozen Chinese soldiers, in black and blue undress uniform, illuminated with yard-long texts. Beyond, shambled a shabby, blue crowd of idlers, attracted by the unusual presence of a foreigner. The majority were stalwart coolies, armed with stout wooden staves used ordinarily to enable two men to share the weight in carrying packages of green tea, but capable also of less peaceful purpose, as the events of the riot had proved. At the moment it would be difficult to imagine a more harmless-looking set of people ; yet it was but a few weeks after the events I have been describing. The crowd grew as we progressed. I manœuvred to photograph it when we reached the open space where the massacre had been decided upon, and again when we were going over the wet heaps of fire-scarred bricks and tiles which are all that can now be seen of once large and imposing monastery and mission-houses; but the soldiers thrust the people aside so promptly, when they realised my movement, that the position I had designed to catch them in was lost. I became absorbed in the wall of the joss-house alongside while I rearranged the focus. Then I swung round suddenly for a snapshot, but the now practised stampede was too quick for me.

Wu Mei Ting's flowered silk cape and expensive pantaloons with sky-blue lining, were getting wet. The black turquoise-studded spectacle-case and cigarette satchel, chained to his brown leather belt, looked limp and depressed. Even, his queue was draggled, and the state of his embroidered mandarin boots was shocking; so I hurried him over his demonstration of the particular rubble-heaps which represented the monastery rooms where the Chinese magistrate dined and committed suicide. I excused myself from hunting up more than a few of the localities in the crowded thoroughfares and their wet surroundings where the six unfortunate French priests were severally overtaken by the mob and beaten to death. At last our round was over, and we backed politely into conveniently tilted Sedan chairs, and were lifted upon the shoulders of our respective quartettes of coolies in umbrella hats.

We left what had now become a very creditable crowd, struggled through the name-boards and paper lanterns of a gloomy burrow, and climbed up a rickety wooden stair to the attic which is the public dining-room of the leading hotel. It was dubiously dark. At one end was a four-poster bed, with red cotton quilt thrown back as the last occupants had left it. At the other was a small square window looking out over wet, brown tiles. In the middle tottered a long trestle table, covered with a strip of Manchester piece-goods, grey with grime and patterned with stains. Tin-tipped chop-sticks, dinted and polished with use, were set out upon the table

in pairs like school pens at an examination. Immemorial brass cruets, covered with delicate green verdigris, further tempted the appetite.

The illuminated military inscriptions arranged themselves sociably in the doorway, whence they beamed and steamed upon the proceedings. They were all wet and all warm. Wu Mei Ting waved me courteously to a chair. The assistant ship's comprador, in long clerical coat, bright blue petticoat, white stockings and blue slippers with white felt soles, seated himself in a friendly way between us, and proceeded to demonstrate upon his own person the method that is proper in Nanchang of polishing the insides of the nostrils and the outsides of the face and hands with a fiercely steaming dish-cloth. Hurriedly, I explained that ill-health interfered with my eating a midday meal. I was told cheerfully that the hour when my host and his two guests would dine had come. I will not dwell upon the bounteous dishes of hot gelatinous tooth-combs and child's puzzles which I took to be the sharks' fins and maws of Indian trade with China, and the recondite, round brown blobs which defied identification, nor on the heaped-up plenitude of rice and brown slippery things in boiling fluid that followed. I sipped some green tea and arrack. My host and the comprador's mate performed the necessary rites with their chop-sticks to good purpose, and made allowance for my foreign inability to consume my share of the delicacies that were offered me.

While we were looking at the ruins it had not

been easy to get any connected account of the disturbance from my companion. It was raining; the crowd pressed; the picture was too evident and too ghastly. Warmed and fed, in the comparative privacy of the hotel, Wu Mei Ting became more communicative, and between the courses gave me a complete account of the "fighting" and its preliminaries from his own experience.

The ship's comprador's mate translated slowly, so I enquired if there would be any objection to my taking down his words for purposes of publication. Permission was given with alacrity, and I present the result. It is perhaps barely intelligible, but it interested me not only as expressing the views of a Chinese gentleman of intelligence who was actually present at the riot, but also as being told in a style suited to the requirements of our interpreter, and therefore not dissimilar to what one Chinese in the crowd would have used to another in describing the events. The narrative professed to give particulars of three separate incidents. The first two were disputes which led to the suicide of the mandarin in the French mission-house. The third related to the incidents immediately prior to and during the riot.

The First Dispute.

"One man, Sing Song Chi, have got one house, Nanchang sixty miles far" (*i.e.*, sixty miles from Nanchang). "French-Chinese mission-men" (*i.e.*, Chinese Catholic converts) "lent money to house-

owner so house is belonging mission-men." (The sum lent was) "not enough one thousand taels" (*i.e.*, less than one thousand taels). "Sing Song Chi give house to mission-man as security to be for three years—have got papers. Mission-men in one and half years write it down for the mission-men's house" (*i.e.*, the Catholic converts claimed possession before the alleged date for repayment had arrived). "He put mission-men's letters over the door" (*i.e.*, the converts took possession and had their names inscribed over the door as owners). "Some people saw the letters and unwilling" (*i.e.*, disapproved) "and talk" (*i.e.*, say) "mission-men no have got customs" (*i.e.*, not acting according to custom) "and never trust French missionellies. And the people they all together in one place. She wished to fighting with the mission-men. Then the mandarin hear them and send soldiers to catch two three men. The missionellies" (*i.e.*, the Catholic fathers) "said wish he catch all to prison" (*i.e.*, complained that enough had not been arrested). "If not, you must pay my money one hundred thousand taels" (*i.e.*, claimed heavy damages for the threats against the converts). "Mandarin said the men cannot pay the money." (This happened) "three years ago."

The Second Dispute.

"American Chinese mission-men fighting with French Chinese mission-men about the pass-river biddings" (*i.e.*, a disturbance took place between Chinese converts of the Amelican Protestant Mission

and Chinese converts of the French Catholic Mission over the payment of ferry money). "Amelican Chinese lose. Amelican mission Chinese man make one boat for pass that river. French mission-men pass river in boat and not pay passage money. Amelican mission-man was boatmen. He want two cash" (*i.e.*, fare demanded was less than one farthing). "Then make fighting, and Amelican mission Chinese have died five men. The mandarin Kiang know it and catch three men, French mission Chinese, put in the prison."

"Mr. Wang" (*i.e.*, the Chinese name of one of the French Catholic fathers) "wished tell the mandarin let off his three mission men" (*i.e.*, to let off the Chinese Catholic converts accused of killing the five Chinese Protestant converts). "The mandarin said because that three men have killed the five men they cannot be let off."

The Riot.

"Because" (*i.e.*, on account of) "this two kinds of business Mr. Wang tell the mandarin Kiang to take dinner in French missionelly house" (*i.e.*, the French father invited the mandarin in whose jurisdiction these two cases lay to dine at the mission-house to discuss them). "The missionelly tell the mandarin finish that case and make square the house business too. Then the mandarin cannot promise he. Mandarin say: 'I cannot make promise. If you want do as you talk I will die. I never promise you'" (*i.e.*, the mandarin was angry with

the Catholic father, and threatened to commit suicide upon his premises if he pressed him any more about these cases). "Missionelly say, 'Suppose you die I finish that case—I no want you do it.'

"Mandarin then go house; have got plenty following. The missionelly get them away outside. Mandarin stop there. The mandarin think he very afraid and one boys come out and tell the people. He say mandarin was laid down in the house and tell the other mandarins" (*i.e.*, the mandarin was excited, and went into an inner room of the mission-house, and the father meanwhile dismissed the mandarin's followers. Then a Chinese came out of the house and told the people that something had happened to the mandarin).

"Mr. Wang" (*i.e.*, the Catholic missionary) "said he" (*i.e.*, the mandarin Kiang) "killed by himself" (*i.e.*, had committed suicide). "The other mandarins cannot tell who has killed him. No have seen mandarin. No can talk. Then send men to carry mandarin to his house. Mandarin waiting two days long and then died" (*i.e.*, the mandarin was found speechless with his throat cut and was carried off by his friends, and died after lingering for two days). "He write, but no savvy what he write. Afterwards the mandarins tell the missionelly we no have seen whose one killed that mandarin. We don't care, but this man was killed from here. Doctor got said cannot save he. Then she was died" (*i.e.*, the doctor could not save the wounded

mandarin's life, and the other mandarins said the father was responsible for his death).

"All the people wished mandarins to catch missionelly to prison. The missionelly would not go. Then they" (*i.e.*, the people) "wished to make fighting. Some one gentleman tell the people don't trouble that case. Have got big mandarin: will do. The people then all together in the Pek-warju" (held a mob-meeting). "Then all the people gone to missionelly house and make fire. Two missionellies run away. Mr. Wang is run out by the passage door and the public charge he. Mr. Wang passed the Kingham house, and Mr. Kingham stand at his own door" (*i.e.*, the mob fired the French mission-house, and hunted the unfortunate priests through the streets. One of them fled past a neighbouring Protestant mission-house, and the occupant, Mr. Kingham, went out to see what was happening, thereby involving himself and his family in the massacre that followed). "The people did not care whose one is French. Then pull Mr. Kingham down and killed by stones. Soon *E*ulo*p*eans all run away and beating all killed. Four missionellies, falling in the water, died. Mr. Wang died in the road."

After the repast was over I persuaded Wu Mei Ting to take me to see the courageous French priest who, when the mob was close upon him in the riot, carried off upon his back, into safety in the city jail, a typhoid-stricken brother he was

nursing. He was the only priest in Nanchang to escape unhurt, as the brother he rescued died from exhaustion and exposure the same night. I found him alone with his books in a cellar-like chamber below the level of a quagmire which filled the confined yard in front of the building. Our talk was limited by some lack of facility on my part in his language; but this could not obscure the spirit which inhabited the frail body of the man—a spirit which sordid discomfort, solitude, and danger had been unable to break. We spoke of the actual riot only by implication, for its deeds of terror were too fresh to be lightly recalled to one so terribly stricken by it; but I learnt some additional particulars of the disputes with the Chinese which had been preliminary to it, and was impressed by the courageous attitude of my host. "Moi, je suis Français" said this soldier of the Church who is holding alone the ground on which all his friends and comrades have suffered martyrdom. It was a pardonable boast. Outside the big wooden gate that separated the courtyard from a crowded slum Chinese sentries paced up and down. They guarded the representative of a faith they feared but did not love.

From the French priest we went on to the yamen, where the Chinese Governor, his Excellency Hu Ting Kai, a keen-featured elderly mandarin, was prepared to give his version of the trouble with much detail, a highly educated Chinese secretary acting as interpreter. The Governor's eyes flashed through his black-rimmed spectacles,

and his right hand went through a pantomime of stabbing, while his left sought a small white goatee beard as he pressed in rapid Chinese his reasons for maintaining that the death of his magistrate was not solely due to suicidal action, as the medical officer of the first British gunboat to reach Nanchang after the outrage had held. He showed me the original of Dr. Charles' report, in English, of a post-mortem examination of the remains of the mandarin, held about a fortnight after death. This states that there were two injuries to the throat, one of a typically suicidal nature, done with a sharp instrument, the other caused with a blunt instrument at a later time and with greater force. The Governor also stated emphatically that he and his officers had had trouble previously with one individual French priest and with one alone. Of all the other missionaries in the province, including American, British, and French, only good was said.

The Governor admitted that the Chinese soldiers deputed to guard the missionaries did not fire upon the mob in defence of their charge, but declared that the mob was so large and the soldiers so few that firing would not have prevented the massacre, while it would have caused further loss of life. This explanation differed little in effect from the even more characteristically Chinese view taken by Wu Mei Ting, who argued that to have fired upon the mob would have been improper, as only a portion of the crowd was attacking the missionaries, the rest merely looking on!

"Some very good men. Some very bad men. How shoot?" was the interpreter's version of his statement. Wu Mei Ting has demonstrated his amity for the missionaries with action that cannot be misunderstood, and he evidently believed what he said.

The Governor also argued, and I found his view shared by the Protestant missionaries in Nanchang and its neighbourhood, that there would have been no disturbance if there had been no interference with the course of Chinese justice where native converts were concerned. The subject is an exceedingly delicate one, but I may venture again to mention the wise course adopted by the Methodist-Episcopal and some other missionaries, who have refused the offer of mandarin rank, made to them as a set-off against the exigence of the French Fathers, and resolutely set their faces against mixing themselves in any way whatever with the temporal affairs of their converts. It was a pleasure to notice the cordiality of the tone in which Governor Hu Ting Kai spoke of the local representatives of the bodies I refer to.

After leaving the Governor's yamen, Wu Mei Ting took me to see the five guard-boats, to the command of which he had been promoted, in fitting recognition of his courage and energy on behalf of the Europeans in the riot. I have previously quoted the case of the Taotai of Shanghai, who obtained promotion after failing to stop a disturbance. The case of Wu Mei Ting shows that preferment in China may also be earned by other action.

Wu Mei Ting introduced me to an intelligent Chinese lieutenant and paraded his crew. We afterwards examined his muzzle-loading nine-pounders and ancient repeating rifles, and discussed their possibilities; but my polite curiosity about the ammunition could not be gratified upon the guard-boats any more than in the city, where several of the sentries consented to my examining their rifles, but could not show me a single cartridge. Ammunition, I gather, is not considered necessary in Central China for keeping up respect for the military arm. Even the soldier's rifle is often discarded. I asked some unarmed warriors, who insisted upon escorting me through Nanchang with lanterns, on the night of my arrival, what protection it was possible for them to afford without either guns or swords.

"The lanterns" they told my interpreter cheerfully, "are altogether sufficient."

Can it have been that the Chinese officials thought the same when they set about protecting the threatened missionaries?

Subsequent to the riot the inhabitants of Nangchang showed they are as timid as they are excitable. After rising in sudden fury, and massacring their European neighbours indiscriminately, word went round that British gunboats would arrive "with bullets as big as pumpkins" to make an end of the city. Such a rush to escape then took place that a ferryboat was overcrowded and sank, drowning, I am credibly informed, no less than sixty

people. Native junks leaving for up-country were able to demand and to obtain twenty taels for carrying a passenger to places to which they had been in the habit of taking him for just one tael. The explanation of the panic must be looked for in connection with the fact that the danger which threatened the city was unknown and indefinite; for no one is more indifferent than the Chinese where mere ordinary loss of life is concerned. The action of the mandarin who brought on the riot by endeavouring to kill himself within the French mission premises, is an illustration in point, for to kill oneself under the roof or on the doorstep of an enemy, for the express purpose of getting that enemy into trouble, is a form of revenge that is much patronised in China. The Governor assured me that the stories which have been published to the effect that this mandarin was in trouble at the time with his own people were untrue; but his evidence upon this point must be received with caution.

At the time of my visit the streets of Nangchang were almost as safe for a European as are those of London. The surviving missionaries, including two ladies, had returned to their work. I found an imposing French cruiser and two small British gunboats which had been despatched to protect the foreigners, lying idle at distant stations upon the Yangtse river. The Nanchang incident, however, is very far from closed. Never before has a charge of murder, brought against Christian missionaries, been so influentially supported and

so universally believed. The definite accusation levelled at the French fathers was very different from the vague assertions of child-killing by which generations of Chinese agitators have stirred up race hatred against Europeans. Never, at a critical time, has a more unfortunate impression been produced in the bazars. The cry, already dangerously powerful, of "China, at all costs, for the Chinese alone," has received a stimulus which has affected indigenous feeling from one end of the country to the other.

Some time after my visit to Nanchang the Chinese Governor whom I saw there was removed from his post by the Peking Government in deference to representations made by the British and French Legations. A necessary admission was thus obtained as to the duties of mandarins in the matter of protecting the lives of Europeans from mob violence. This concession by the Chinese did not prevent the holding at Peking, a few days before I reached that centre, of a public meeting at which representatives from different parts of China were present, to show respect to the memory of the Chinese magistrate whose suicide was the cause of the riot. The meeting was orderly and attracted little attention. The Hanyang rifle factory clicks even faster than it clicked before, turning out mausers and Krupp guns which are some day to prevent all interference, secular or clerical, in the affairs of the country; but externally quiet reigns.

CHAPTER VII

HANKOW AND ITS FACTORIES

"ONE man say he smoke opeem. I think not true," observed my factotum conversationally, as he gazed at a gorgeously-coloured portrait in the paper and wood shanty that serves as a hall of reception at the Chinese Government arsenal in Hanyang. The portrait as a work of art was negligible; but it interested me almost as much as it interested Ah Wun. It was that of a simply-dressed Chinese gentleman of seventy, with big forehead, dreamy eyes, and nervous mouth, curiously unlike what one would imagine to belong to so material a personage as its original, the Viceroy Chan-Chi-Tung, founder of the factories that clanged on either side of us and blackened the city across the river in front. Chan-Chi-Tung is abused and belauded until one does not know on which side the balance lies. He has built cotton-mills, a mint, a military academy, the best rifle factory in China, and the biggest steel and iron works in Asia. He has got his province into financial difficulty by his lavish

expenditure; but Hankow with its annexe the crowded Chinese city of Hanyang, and its *vis-à-vis* across the Yangtse, that human hive Wuchang, is becoming a centre of industries which profoundly affect the entire country. Hankow is six hundred miles from the sea, yet ocean steamers cast anchor opposite its fine esplanade and busy wharves. It is the terminus of a railway by which already one may travel through the heart of China to Peking, and thence through Siberia to Moscow and Calais. Its air is thick with factory coal-smoke, yet the fresh aroma that crushed green tea alone produces, pervades whole streets in the European quarter, and makes one imagine oneself back in a garden in Assam.

At Hankow the river rises and falls by forty feet, with the alternate melting and freezing of snow two thousand miles off in the highlands of Central Asia. Hundreds of coolies are constantly engaged in consequence, adding to the strength of the wide granite-faced bund that already extends five miles along the river face. Their shouts, as they hurry with swinging baskets of river mud across the principal thoroughfare, are a characteristic sound of the place. It is upon the bund that the English, Russian, German, French, and Japanese concessions are arranged one after the other, so that each nation owns a strip of river frontage. One finds English and Russian merchants in big three-storied "hongs" which lounge complacently, with wide verandahs open to catch every breeze. The

Germans live differently. In their concession red-brick villas, with gables and gilt official eagles just unpacked from Berlin, stand to attention in self-conscious discomfort. The Belgians have dumped themselves down anyhow, .with the odds and ends of their railway. The Japanese have staked out a claim on a bit of neglected foreshore ; but a fine line of steamers flying their flag to the port is the principal evidence of their occupation. Two British lines of flat-bottomed, three-storied arks, with room for two thousand Chinese coolies upon deck, and sumptuous accommodation for first-class passengers above, stump the river by the aid of the best engines that Scotland can build. A Chinese line imitates them and a French one outdoes them in electric-lighted top-heaviness. The Russians, the Germans, and the Americans send sea-going craft to share in the traffic.

Raw Yangtse cotton stares blanch-faced out of coffin-shaped craft, which dip their varnished gunwales under water as they buffet their way with pleated mainsails to Wuchang, where steam-driven looms and spinning-jennies whirr in the factories. Gunny-covered bales, bursting with Bombay yarn, still lumber heavily ashore from the river steamers ; but Chan-Chi-Tung's mills know that their day is coming.

The brick-tea industry is divided between mandarin and Russian factories. The tea is fired at the gardens up-country, and is brought

down to Hankow to be compressed into smooth black blocks. The extent and machinery of the factories where the compressing is done is a revelation to those who are familiar only with the simple appliances which the Assam tea-trade uses. At least a dozen establishments employ steam power. Viewed from the river, the smoking chimney-shafts are almost as imposing as those of the industrial front of Calcutta. Electrically-lighted premises emit the roar of machinery far into the night. Some of the processes are kept confidential; but the main operation, of squeezing damped tea-leaves into solid masses, appears to be simplicity itself. Both Russians and Chinese employ Sikhs to guard their premises. The labourers are all Chinese, who work behind closely locked doors.

The brick-tea industry is not the only enterprise in which Hankow sets India an example. At Hanyang, three miles above the European settlement, are iron and steel works, also rifle, cordite and cartridge factories, which in point of time are five years ahead of anything in India. They are under Chinese managers who employ German, British, and Japanese experts in various departments. In the early years of the undertaking German engineers were in charge of the ironworks only; and British mechanics directed the rifle factory. Characteristic differences with the British employees resulted in the sending for more Germans. The pay offered, of six hundred pounds sterling per

annum, from the time of joining, with bonus, must have been enough to attract some talent; and the men themselves say that the money was paid regularly, and that the Chinese were liberal and considerate masters. The difficulty, of course, was just the fact that they were the masters. The Britisher does best when he is on the top. So the Germans came. For reasons of economy Japanese are now displacing the Germans. I found twenty-two Japanese assistants, of whom two were majors in the Mikado's forces.

The manager of the rifle factory, a business-like Chinese gentleman, educated at Tientsin, showed me courteously over his establishment. His secretary, another Chinese, acted as our interpreter. Teutonic influence in the enterprise was shown in our having to talk in German, that being the only European language into which the secretary could translate the Chinese of my host.

The manager of the iron and steel works was a Chinese of another type. He was educated at Hastings and London, and studied iron and steel manufacture in both England and America. So far as talk and behaviour were concerned, he would pass anywhere as a remarkably keen, simple-mannered, intelligent and cultivated Englishman. He had recently returned to China from Europe, where he had been supervising the purchase of very extensive new plant. His secretary was a young gentleman, also Chinese, also educated at an English public school, and possessed of the

manners that appertain thereto. If further testimony were needed to the indelible stamp of these institutions it was surely afforded by this young Chinese. He had all the marks, and they went oddly with his blue silk dressing-gown and embroidered felt boots. He was good-humouredly bored at having to show me round; but he took me in the day's work, and on the whole he was kind.

"I don't know a thing about these machines," he stated candidly, and checked my flow of interrogation.

"The fellows," he explained—about the European employees—"don't get at all bad pay." He patronised me infinitely; and I liked him very much.

The shipping business, which is of considerable magnitude, is in the capable hands of a British ex-sea captain. The blast-furnaces are controlled by Germans. The whole establishment is well organised. The rifle factory is not anything like so up to date as the Indian one at Ishapore; but it was in full working a good many years before the Government of India brought themselves to the point of undertaking anything of the kind. The blast-furnaces, steel-making plant, and rolling mills have long been turning out pig-iron, rails, and girders for every kind of purpose, while the Tata scheme in India is still only hoping to do the same. I travelled by train for three hundred miles, from Hankow to the Yellow River, the whole way over

eighty-five lb. railway rails manufactured from the ore in the Hanyang works; and I have Sheffield expert authority for the statement that there is not much wrong with the quality.

Just now, the Hanyang steel factory is in a stage of transition, as the Bessemer process, hitherto in use, is being discarded, and the Siemens open-hearth system introduced. The yards are piled high with newly imported plant for rolling mills, furnaces, and electric installation, to the value of £120,000, which will take nearly two years to erect. When the whole is in working the total output of steel is to be about one hundred thousand tons per annum.

Two blast-furnaces, with modern steam blowers and pumping plant, are still in operation, turning out from one hundred and fifty to one hundred and eighty tons of excellent pig-iron daily. This is to be increased to four hundred tons when the new steel plant is ready. The iron-ore and limestone for the furnaces are brought up to the works in substantial flats, towed by steamers, from the Taishan mines, which are situated seventy-five miles down the Yangtse. A railway twenty miles long connects the iron mines with Shihuiyan, the station upon the river where the flats pick up the mineral. Most of the coal and coke travel by river-steamer from Nganuen, near Ping Lsiang, three hundred miles south of Hankow, on the Kangsi border of the Hunan province. They are supplemented by Japanese coal brought in as ballast by Japanese steamers that fetch pig-iron and ore. The

iron ore claims to contain sixty per cent. of metal, and to compare with the boasted Swedish article in freedom from undesirable constituents. The Nganuen coal does fairly well, though inferior to the Japanese article. The railway, the flats, and steamers all belong to the works.

The output of thirty-foot rolled rails has hitherto been about one hundred and fifty per diem. It is hoped to roll four times that quantity before long. It is unlikely that there will be any difficulty about a market. Last year a consignment of pig-iron was taken to San Francisco by an enterprising company of shipowners in search of return freight for vessels engaged in carrying American lumber to China. The cargo sold at a large profit ; and the trade may be expected to grow, as cheap freight by steamers which would otherwise be travelling empty can be relied upon. The Japanese Government is another large buyer of the pig-iron, besides being under contract to take annually one hundred thousand tons of unsmelted ore from the mines. The principal customer, however, is and always will be China itself. The Hankow-Peking railway took all the rails the factory could produce at the time the line was being built ; but the section from the Yellow River to Peking had to be constructed with foreign rails, owing to the extent to which the output of the factory was already booked for delivery elsewhere. At present the steel used in the rifle-making works at Hanyang is all imported from Sheffield. Crucible steel for the purpose, made

upon the spot, is to be one of the next developments.

The position of the iron and steel works in regard to the Chinese Government is somewhat complicated. Viceroy Chan-Chi-Tung initiated .the enterprise from provincial funds, spending in all some five million taels (half a million sterling). For some time an annual loss was made upon the working. While this was still the case pressure to take over the concern was put upon Shengkung Pao, the fabulously rich ex-Taotai of Tientsin, who is now one of the members of the Board of Public Affairs in Shanghai. Shengkung Pao has since become the principal owner, and has increased by ten million taels the amount of the capital employed. The Chinese Government has retained a share in the concern, and shows the proprietary nature of its interest by exempting supplies imported for the use of the undertaking from the payment of customs duty.

The rifle factory is a purely Government venture. It is equipped with extensive, steam-driven machine shops containing plant far larger and of better type than that employed in Shanghai. I found the works in full operation, and was told that they were turning out daily fifty completed rifles and twenty thousand smokeless cartridges to match, an estimate which I have reason to believe is under rather than above the actuals. The rifles are serviceable mausers, of the 1888 pattern, with exposed breech action, tested up to a deviation of five feet at five hundred metres range. The stocks

are of locally grown walnut. The rifles are better finished than those made at Shanghai. A European who had done a good deal of shooting with them, using the cartridges to match, told me that the principal defect he found was some liability, on the part of the exploded cartridge-case, to stick on the breech after the barrel gets hot. This does not entirely disable the weapon, but makes it necessary to have a ramrod ready to facilitate extraction. The cap of the cartridge is sometimes loose and liable to fall out.

The cartridges are sheathed with brass which is rolled upon the premises. The bullets are encased in nickel. The filling is done by automatic machinery, which weighs the bullets and the completed cartridges separately, and thus subjects the measurement of the powder to a double check. A percentage of the cartridges is proved by firing. Each process of manufacture of both rifles and cartridges is done by a series of specialised machines so arranged that it is possible to follow the parts round the shops and see them grow, step by step, from shapeless steel bars, brass and nickel ingots, and walnut logs into the completed weapon.

The factory also makes quantities of a light field-gun with Nordenfeldt-block breech action, and short barrel mounted upon low field-carriage, with fork recoil attachment to the wheels. The gun is of 57 mm. bore. It carries a cast-iron shell, with brass percussion fuse weighing about

six pounds. It is a somewhat out-of-date but by no means useless weapon. I saw a shed full of the completed article which the factory claims to be producing at the rate of about twelve per month. The capacity of the shell factory was given me as three hundred per diem; but the quantity now being turned out was not placed higher than three thousand per month, and I should doubt its being so much. The guns are intended so much more for show than use, that a large ammunition supply is not considered essential; but this does not apply to the rifles.

A small mountain gun, of 37 mm. bore, with cast-iron shell to match; the whole mounted upon a mule pack-saddle, is also manufactured, but in lesser quantity. I saw a modern quick-firing gun, with shrapnel-proof shield, and was told that some of its pattern had been made in the works; but none were under construction when I passed through. Both the field and the mountain gun are shaped upon the lathe out of solid steel blocks imported from Europe. The planing and rifling plant is very similar to that in use at the Cossipore works of the Government of India; but there is this important difference, that the guns have no separately-shrunk-on outer case, and no wire-winding is attempted. A brass time-fuse was shown to me as one of the articles manufactured in the works; but I saw none being made.

When I was at Hanyang some of the staff were starting upon a four weeks' journey to Cheng-tu-fu,

where the Chinese propose to found a big arsenal and factory, which shall be so far from the sea and in so ungetatable a location that it shall defy capture in case of war. The idea is one that has long been floating about in China. It contemplates that future to which all Chinese look forward, when a struggle with powers having command of the sea shall take place. I do not pretend to be able to say whether it will materialise. The difficulties that are to be offered to the invading army apply also to the transport of machinery and materials, and are very considerable.

Hankow stands for Chinese enterprise. Its factories are in a transitional stage. Europeans and Japanese own some of them and are employed as experts in others, but the part taken by the Chinese themselves increases continually.

CHAPTER VIII

TO PEKING BY RAIL

UP to quite recently the traveller who would reach Peking overland from the valley of the Upper Yangtse had to resign himself to five hundred miles of weary stage driving, through country lanes which are dust-heaps in fine weather, and often impossible bogs in wet. He was compelled to spend night after night, for weeks together, in the miserable hovels with torn paper window-panes, which do duty for inns in China, with filth and disease for bedfellows, and discomfort and incivility in continual attendance. The capital of China was as inaccessible by land as springless mule carts and absence of macadam could render it. Now the journey can be made without change from Hankow to Peking by rail.

Up to last April one train started every day from each end; but it went forward only during daylight hours, and took four days to traverse the line. The carriages were the ordinary day coaches in use upon lines in Continental Europe, and there were no arrangements for sleeping. Each night the traveller

had to turn out and seek shelter and food, as best he could, in some Chinese city. I was one of the first to travel by a very much faster and more luxurious train, which started when I was at Hankow to run once a week to Peking and back, making the journey each way in thirty-six hours, without stopping at night. It was probably the only thing of its kind in China. It had bogie carriages with sleeping arrangements upon the wagon-lit principle, and boasted a comfortable dining-saloon in which European food was served by Chinese waiters under a Belgian *chef*. The language spoken upon the line was exclusively French, but both Hankow and Peking money was accepted.

I found my way in a creaking jinrickshaw in the dark to the gusty Hankow railway station, where a civil French-speaking Chinese station-master was in charge. All luggage was weighed, but the excess charges were by no means unreasonable, and the usual Continental receipt was given for it. My fellow-passengers included Germans, Frenchmen, Chinese, Japanese, and British. We stowed ourselves into comfortable berths, and the train moved smoothly off to an accompaniment of loud *banzais* from Japanese who were upon the platform with their women-folk to say goodbye to a compatriot.

Chinese newspapers were reporting at the moment the existence of a rebellion in the province of Honan, through which we were to pass.

One of them went so far as to allege that four hundred people had been killed; but we knew nothing of the story at the time, and I am afraid I cannot describe our journey as even adventurous in fancy. We found out afterwards that such disturbance as had occurred had been put down weeks before by some of the Nanking Viceroy's troops. The published reports were both exaggerated and belated. Rebellion in China, one may add in passing, is a large word for a comparatively harmless affair as a rule. The people inform the Governor that his exactions are in excess of custom and that he must reduce them. If he agrees, the matter ends. If not, there is a demonstration, and perhaps some shooting; but this is only preliminary to a compromise, for the Peking Government never backs up its officials when force has to be resorted to; and the people seem temperamentally averse to pushing any successes they may obtain to extremes. The troops boast of the numbers of the enemy they have killed; but the fighting does not often amount to very much. A typical story was told me of the Taotai of a city through which I passed, who claimed to have put down a rebellion, but explained, when pressed for particulars, that it had not been necessary to fight, since by happy inspiration he had taken out a tiger skin, which had so frightened the insurgents that they had all run away.

The train travelled, during the night, northwards

from Hankow through the flat valley of the Yangtse river. Wooded hills came down on either side of us at dawn when we crossed the watershed into the Yellow River basin. All the rest of the five hundred miles to Peking the line stretched through level country. The only big natural obstacle was the Yellow River itself. The railway traverses the middle of China. It has been built by a company of enterprising Belgians, of whom so many hard things have been said that I feel almost apologetic in having failed to recognise any iniquities. If the engineering work cost more than the projectors expected, and if it be not as solid as on some other railways, I can say only that the train travelled remarkably steadily and fast, that the food in the restaurant car was good, the sheets in the wagon-lit clean, the officials invariably civil, and the fare reasonable. If the undertaking be, as has been alleged, an integral part of a Russo-French scheme to rule an iron line across China from Tongking to Siberia, and to squeeze Englishmen out of the country, I must still admit that I found it a convenient link between the British ship which landed me at Hankow and the British bank which cashed my note of credit in Peking.

The line is immensely important. For patriotic reasons I sympathise with the wish that my own fellow-countrymen had had the building of it. I admire the more the enterprise of the men who secured the undertaking. The robber in me

swelled with covetousness as the richness of the country through which we travelled unfolded itself. I found myself asking, again and again, what could not Indian civilians have made of such a land and its millions of industrious, peace-loving, law-abiding inhabitants? For six hundred miles from Shanghai to Hankow, as I sailed up the Yangtse river, rice crops had stretched on either bank as far as my eyes would carry. As the railway brought me north I passed into the temperate zone. The rice gave place to wheat. Carefully tilled fields bearing promise of heavy harvest extended for five hundred miles at right angles to my former route. I was tracing out the bounds of plot of thirty thousand square miles of rich agricultural land, heavily populated and industriously cultivated throughout. Peasants at wayside railway stations were in coats of padded bed-quilt, with long months of wear inscribed upon the seams. The houses grew substantial. A winged stone screen, in blue brick frame, balanced in front of every door to keep bad spirits out; for hobgoblins, as every child in China knows, cannot get round a corner. Purple masses of pendulous, tree-wisteria flower and white pear-blossom told of spring returning to a northern land. It was the last week in April, yet reasons of warmth made me seek out a car step, in an angle where the full heat of the sun could strike me and where the bitter, dusty wind was fended off by the car in front. It is exhilarating to fly through Middle

China on the Hankow-Peking wagon-lit's train-step, and ridiculously safe where one has a stout brass handle conveniently placed on either side, as I had, to hold on to whenever a bridge beneath was deep or the willow-shoots on the embankment were swung suddenly away by an unexpected siding.

At breakfast the Belgian conductor reported that we were approaching the Yellow River bridge; and we at once sought the train windows for the embankments that the school primers talk about as protecting the country from flood. Presently we thought that we had discovered what we were looking for. The height climbed a hundred feet in the distance upon the left, and was covered with scrub-jungle, out of which rose joss-houses and Chinese dwellings. But it was rather too big and too much like a natural line of hills to satisfy our expectations. Another objection was that it was not continued on the right of the track, where the country stretched away indefinitely upon precisely the same level as ourselves. Doubts about the school primers' information began to gather in our minds, and were confirmed when a gleam of water flashed out of a yellow desert of sand at the point where what we imagined to be the embankment left off. The train stopped at the foot of the hill. A short tunnel through an outlying spur lay in front. On the left was a flat-bottomed gully, which ran into the range longitudinally, and afforded a vista of irregularly piled-up loam

covered with a framework of bushy trees. The branches were thickening with budding leaves, too small to throw any appreciable shadow upon the glaring dust.

On the right a giant millipede strode on long thin legs into the distance across a waste of sand and waters. The bridge was there indeed. The spur, through which the railway tunnelled, alone concealed its head. There was no embankment. The line where the green crops ended and the yellow parterre of sand and water began, stretched away to the horizon without break in level. There was nothing visible to prevent the pea-soup stream from extending when in flood to any extent over the cultivation. A schoolroom tradition was destroyed which the hills on the left could not restore, however like embankments they might seem. It is possible that the Yellow River may live, elsewhere in its long course, up to its old reputation of a stream embanked upon either side until it is high above the surrounding country. It does nothing of the kind, so far as I could see, at the point where the Belgian railway crosses it.

There was barely time to take a photograph of the gorge before the train plunged into the tunnel through the spur, and the roar of reverberating steel girders announced that we were upon the bridge. Behind us, lining the channel upon the left, was now the range of hills which ended abruptly at the railway. In front the cobweb of girders stretched out over what seemed to be

some miles of a desert streaked with winding streams. Cautiously we rumbled forward and looked down through the open framework upon alternating dusty stretches and rushing water far below. In places the streams were grubbing, like terrier after rat, at the base of the perilously slender columns which supported the track. I wondered how much of the foundations had been undermined since the last train had crossed. Some of the dusty stretches were dotted with hundreds of blue human ants toiling to build up, at the more seriously threatened points, breastworks of sand which the water may or may not respect when it rises. Down-stream, a hundred junks floated placidly upon an expansion of the river, their sails gleaming swan-like in the strong midday light.

The prolonged reverberation of vibrating girders gave place at length to the substantial hum of metalled permanent-way. We had reached the further bank, where the train took heart and quickened its pace. We sped through low-lying country, across a flimsy embankment a few feet high, which gives the river-bed on the northern shore some slight hint as to the course intended for it—a hint which is omitted altogether to the east of the hills on the southern bank. Miserable huts, where once were thriving villages, reminded us that the population have not yet recovered from the floods in which millions of human beings perished, barely a generation ago; but no sign appeared of the famine which must even then have begun to

pinch the people. The river still flows in the channel which it carved in summer fury, when it changed its course from the south to the north of the Shantung Peninsula and adopted the Pechihli Gulf, in place of the Yellow Sea, for its outfall. It is an obstacle which must always cause much anxiety to the railway.

At almost every station where the train stopped we found a crowd of countrymen prepared to take intelligent interest in our affairs. Of local traffic there was little, for few but foreigners travel by express in China, the man of the country preferring cheaper means of conveyance. The people had come from near and far to look at us. In only rare instances did they either beg or endeavour to dispose of inferior Chinese bronzes or more pretentious curios from Birmingham. At every stopping-place was a soldier in black coat and red inscription, carrying an 1888 pattern mauser rifle from the Hanyang arsenal, and proud to show us how smartly he could come to attention at the word of command. There was no ammunition in his pouch; but we felt we were being taken care of by the Government, immanent somewhere as usual to watch over the safety of the troublesome stranger. We were received at a surprising number of apparently insignificant halting-places by comfortable Belgian station-masters.

A pair of steel rails, glistening on a stone-ballasted side-track which branched away upon the left, soon reminded us that a British company, calling itself

the Peking Syndicate, is developing a coal-field in the middle of North-Western China, and will supply mineral of good quality some day to both Peking and Hankow.

Eruptions of rough earth, amongst smooth green crops, with a cypress-tree or two alongside, and a substantial stone table in front, where ghosts can sit conveniently to read inscriptions engraved upon stone pillars by pious descendants, became more and more frequent features of the landscape, as the second morning wore on. Presently we entered a region which was little else than a vast graveyard. The horizon bristled with sharp-pointed earth heaps, each representing a tomb. Not a single neglected mound or protruding board was visible, though the Chinese place the coffin merely upon the open ground, and pile up earth on the top of it without any attempt at sinking it below the surface. The heaps were in groups, each representing a family, and sheltered by a mound to keep evil spirits away and preserve the "fanshui" (good luck) of the location. These mounds are generally upon the north. It is on them that good spirits rest, with one elbow upon the mythical tiger and the other on the dragon that guard the resting-place of the dead. Cultivation goes on around the graves. Well-fed ox and corpulent donkey, yoked as a pair, drew substantial carts past the train. Blue poke-bonnets on wheels, with fine mules between the strings, pottered along the highways, the famous Peking carts that even a Chinese country quagmire does

not appal. Houses grew frequent. Fruit-trees covered with masses of pink blossom appeared on every side. We passed through a stone archway in an ancient wall, where grey keeps and battlements towered upon the left, found ourselves in the middle of an enormous Chinese city, and realised Peking.



WHERE GREY KEEPS AND BATTLEMENTS TOWERED

CHAPTER IX

THE PEKING OF TO-DAY

TO see the Peking of to-day the traveller should climb out of the poisonous atmosphere of the narrow streets, up the steep ramp of the Tartar wall. There the wind blows keen and the air is comparatively pure. The straight thoroughfare, fifty feet wide, covered with broken paving-stones, which is the top of the wall, extends in front. On either side are ruins of breast-high battlements. The thoroughfare opens into a succession of squares over the bastions. Enormous pagoda towers, with crude pictures of gun-muzzles painted upon the shutters of the emplacements, strut at intervals along the way. Southward, beyond the arched watergate where the Indian contingent scrambled into the city when the Allies relieved the Legations in 1900, ripple the myriad roofs of the Chinese city, sharply divided, beneath one's eyes, by the broad thoroughfare which Tartar conquerors drove through the packed capital they found. To the north, the yellow porcelain tops of the Forbidden City and its imperial palaces differentiate themselves in the pall

of smoke, dust, and vapour that hangs over the hived dwellings of lesser folk. On the horizon to the left, the cathedral, where six years ago a stout-hearted French priest and a few converts and helpers denied entrance to besieging Boxer mobs, raises a Christian pinnacle. Nearer in is the fine American Methodist hospital, which helps the missionary cause by filling a real want in the city. Immediately below, a stone clock-tower stands on guard over a prosperous British bank, a lasting memento of fifty soon-spent millions furnished to the Chinese Government. A few well-paved roads are visible in the neighbourhood of the foreign Legations; but they do not materially alter the character of the place.

Mule carts still jolt silk-coated mandarins before dawn to daylight audiences in the palace. Black, powdery dust rises in the same clouds, to spread over the tinned foods and bottled drinks which the globe-trotter survives as hardily as ever. The dim curio-shops in the evil-smelling lanes of the Chinese city have restocked their looted shelves with ivories and embroideries, and begun again their profitable trade. The coolies who drag ramshackle jinrickshaws over slimy refuse heaps, have dropped no note of aggression in their argumentative claims for more pay than they are entitled to receive. The six years which have passed since the relief of the Legations have made no difference in the relative positions of the middle-aged puppet Emperor and the imperious Dowager he obeys. The old international jealousies

still bristle behind the ostentatiously concealed emplacements of the herded Legations. But the white man is no longer where he was. His representatives continue to hold, with armed guards, ground they seized at a time of war in the capital of a people with whom they have since made peace; but this is merely one of the anomalies common in the Far East. Great Britain and Japan have accepted China as an independent power like themselves. The Americans are helping to keep up the impression. France and Germany are trying to look as if they had not got any Chinese property about their persons, whether in Tongking, Shantung or elsewhere. Small fry like Portugal, Spain, Italy, Belgium, and Austria, which also hold semi-fortified positions in Peking, are watching their bigger neighbours uncomfortably. Defeated but still magnificent Russia only is unconcerned; and now that one portal into China has been wrested from her by Japan, is pushing hard at every other. The Chinese are never tired of advertising that they can do without the European. In Peking, one is tempted, almost, to believe that the European is of the same opinion, and that he is endeavouring to behave in his battlemented Legation stronghold as if he were upon sufferance or invitation.

A battered corner of the wall of the British portion of the entrenchment has been left unrepaired to show the marks of the cannon which played upon it from the Imperial enclosure in 1900. It bears in large, naïve black letters the quotation,

"Lest we forget," but is inconspicuous in the policy of forgetting which is in operation.

The Legation fortifications in Peking are necessary. If they were removed the Europeans would be unable to protect themselves and their women and children from the periodical mob violence which the Chinese Government has proved itself too weak to control. The Anglo-Japanese-American policy of preserving the autonomy and integrity of the country, adopted for international reasons far removed from Peking, has resulted in the compulsory assumption by the white man of an attitude which is foreign to his relations with every other alien race in the world. In India, a vast Empire has been built upon prestige. In China, prestige has been allowed to disappear, and the European has to put up in consequence with barely concealed contempt and hostility, which are liable to develop at any time into insult and injury.

China has taken, in her own slow way, the advice continually proffered her from the West, to employ foreigners to furnish her with armament and to drill her soldiers. She has got together a great deal of more or less modern material of war, and a large force of men not altogether despicable, from a fighting point of view, in spite of the essentially peaceful character of her people. With Russia defeated by a nation that China holds to be her own inferior, and with France and Germany—the only other nations likely to interfere with her autonomy—in effectual check, she is forming the

inflated opinions of her own position natural to the Eastern mind. She has not forgotten the catastrophe which befell her efforts in 1900 to expel the foreigner. She acquiesces in his presence as an unavoidable evil, and protects his person with a solicitude that is sometimes pathetic, in order to avoid subsequent trouble; but she has no respect or liking for himself.

The progress in certain branches of Western civilisation which China is making, is real and unmistakeable. What is even more apparent than this progress, however, is backwardness in other branches. With a soil far richer than that of India and a population larger, more intelligent and more industrious, China is utterly distanced by that country in everything that public enterprise confers. In isolated industries initiated for her by Europeans, such as the iron and steel works at Hanyang and the brick tea factories at Hankow, she holds her own. In almost everything where her own people have been long in charge, she lags lamentably behind. The taxes levied by her officials are at least as heavy, *per capita*, as those raised in India, yet the corruption in her public services is so great that the total sum which finds its way into the Imperial Treasury is only about one-tenth of what the Government of India is able to spend upon administration. China is burdened with a relatively large national debt, yet she has practically no reproductive public works to lighten the burden of the interest. She does not own a tenth of the railway

mileage of India. The splendid canals, which centuries ago doubled the present fertility of enormous areas of territory, have fallen into ruin. The country is almost innocent of metalled roads. Possessed of a people amongst whom learning is a passion, her educational institutions have but one advanced student in the modern sense where those of India have scores. The Calcutta University alone possesses two thousand undergraduates. The Imperial University of Peking, which represents modern learning in the capital, contained exactly two hundred and forty students at the time of my visit. This university is one of the most deserving and valuable institutions in China. Its foreign professors are able and sympathetic, and, with proper support, would make its future distinguished, since finer raw material for intellectual development than the Chinese student is not to be found in Asia; but it is fifty years behind the University of Calcutta; and even the small amount of encouragement it receives from the mandarins is insecure. It was founded only three years ago, as a sequel to the abolition of the Confucian examinations; but the Peking reactionaries are already undermining the basis on which it stands, and the edict issued in January, 1907, which reintroduces the Confucian standards, threatens to complete its destruction. Other branches of Chinese official enterprise are in an equally unsatisfactory position. A postal system on European lines has been introduced and has succeeded up to a certain point,

thanks to its initiation having been placed in the capable hands of Sir Robert Hart; but here also Chinese interference has prevented the development which would have occurred in any better governed country. I saw in Tientsin men who had travelled long distances from the interior to collect at the head office of the Transvaal Immigration Agency, in person, sums as small as five Chinese dollars, remitted to them from Johannesburg. They could not get the money sent to their homes by postal order, as would be done, as a matter of course, in India, because the Chinese Post Office cannot be depended upon to perform such service with reliability.

The state of medical science may be judged by the fact that when, in Nanchang, international complications hung upon the curing of the magistrate who cut his throat in the precincts of the French mission, the man died because not a Chinese doctor could be found, in a city of a million inhabitants, capable of performing so elementary a surgical operation as that of sewing up a by no means considerable wound. In Canton a temple flourishes as a dispensary; but it affords no medical treatment. The patient gets what benefit he may from kowtowing to the individual image, out of sixty, which happens to be numbered to correspond with the years of his age. The high-class Chinese of Peking claim to be civilised, yet the Imperial Palace in the Forbidden City has all the insanitary and draughty discomfort of an ill-built shanty.

The Emperor ploughs with his own hands an annual furrow in the grounds of the Temple of Agriculture at Peking, to propitiate the weather; but he is helpless to save millions of the inhabitants of the Yellow River valley who die when the floods are excessive. His Imperial Majesty mounts the carved marble platform of the Temple of Heaven, and reads, for the information of the deity, a periodical summary of the acts of his administration; but his officials still employ torture in the ordinary course of their dispensation of justice, and the rack, the thumbscrew, and the dragon's stool are a much-used portion of the equipment of every yamen.

"I strung him up by the thumbs with my own hands," remarked a mild-faced Taotai to a European missionary; "I was determined he should confess." Yet the malefactor in this case was merely an ordinary prisoner, accused of some purely domestic crime, who had annoyed the officer of the law by protesting that he was innocent.

The people of China are the most law-abiding in the world; but public opinion overrides the law, being so strong that it is the ultimate court of political appeal. The Government is one of inaction exacerbated by tax-gathering. The officials maintain their position, not by force, but because of the respect which constituted authority commands. They keep up soldiers and police to enhance the dignity of their own positions, and, incidentally, to suppress rebellions and catch, casti-

gate, torture, or behead such persons as they consider to be malefactors; but all their actions are limited by what public opinion will allow. Local governors are appointed from Peking because the people would not otherwise recognise the validity of their authority; but the imperial throne does not interfere in the ordinary administration. The head telegraph office at Peking, which handles the official despatches of the capital, is about as large as would be required in an up-country station in India. The Court demands of its viceroys and governors, first, that they shall remit it enough money to pay its expenses, and, second, that they shall keep out of trouble with the populace. Provided these two conditions be fulfilled the officials may do very much what they please. The towns are cesspools of insanitation, with dark tortuous passages in place of streets, and are devoid of the most elementary conveniences. This state of things is not due to ignorance. Close beside some of the worst of the Chinese towns are European-managed foreign settlements. Here everything is different. The streets are broad and well-lighted; electric trams, waterworks and sewers are maintained efficiently. Sanitation, order and convenience are attended to, because white men, and not Chinese, are responsible.

But Peking is full of illustrations of the great possibilities of the Chinese. The massive walls are monuments of industry. The carved temples testify to a long plundered national art. I spent a dusty afternoon looking for a magazine and powder

factory which a German map indicated as existing in the south-west corner of the Chinese city. I discovered the buildings at length, but they were deserted and in ruins. Alongside was something at least as interesting. It was a Chinese paper factory without appliances, other than a few vats, sticks, and mats, yet turning out a product which competes successfully, throughout China, with the machine-made paper of Indian and German steam factories. Pallid creatures stood up to their waists in holes in the earthen floor of the hovel in which the principal process was conducted, toiling early and late, under conditions of incredible insanitation and discomfort, each having to complete, as his daily task, the manufacture of six hundred sheets of coarse brown paper. I saw men handling the mats that did duty for screens, with skill that would have made them leading hands in any European-run steam mill. Yet they are content to labour in Peking for the remuneration of the meanest coolie. Such sights must continue until an administration arises capable of directing the great industrial abilities of the people into more profitable channels.

There is no lack of intelligence in the ruling classes. Only honesty of endeavour in the interest of the public is required. At present the canker of dishonesty destroys confidence in everything that is official. Taotais of cities like Shanghai and Tientsin, who are the presidents of the local municipalities, make fortunes which are believed in China to run into hundreds of thousands of pounds.

When this is the case with superiors it is easy to picture what goes on with subordinates. The people are so extraordinarily honest in their private dealings, and the officials rule them so largely by sufferance, that it is reasonable to hope, with the best informed foreign residents, for some efficient endeavour from within to end the eternal official squeezes that exist. Honesty of administration is of comparatively late growth, even in England. America has attained it but partially, and Turkey not at all. China is only in the position from which Europe is emerging. Her ultimate regeneration is in the line of natural probability; but the beginning so far made is small.

Progress, where it can be made out, is still local and partial. Yuan-Shih-Kai, the Chinese administrator oftenest quoted for efficiency, has done much in his own province in training and arming troops, founding schools, and building roads; but he is so solitary among his contemporaries as to force the conviction that, as a class, Europeans at present alone possess the qualifications required for the government of the country. Europeans, however, are being forced more and more into the background. As exploiters of the produce and suppliers of the markets they still prosper exceedingly in co-operation with their Chinese partners, though the recent boycott of American goods in Shanghai and Canton has given them a foretaste of what they may have to experience upon a larger scale. They manage a certain number of mines

and railways, but find increasing difficulty in enlarging their borders in these directions. Their influence has not been enhanced by the policy, now in the ascendant, of relieving the Chinese Government from fears of aggression upon the part of the European powers. Dreams of administering China as Great Britain administers India and France Tongking no longer visit the pillows of political attachés in the Foreign Legations. Consul-Generals and their satellite secretaries find their immediate duties of obtaining concessions out of the Chinese authorities quite onerous enough. If Chinese officialdom were less occupied in accumulating riches for its individual members it might preface reform by buying so many modern guns and employing so large a staff of foreign military instructors as to create a crisis; for power only, not will, is lacking for the complete expulsion of the European; but the financial aspect of the situation has proved deterrent up to the present. So far as the nationalisation of the Chinese army, announced in December, 1906, is real, it does not alter the situation. The bringing of the whole or of any portion of the forces raised by the viceroys of the various provinces under the direction of the Peking War Office, would be important only if the central administration controlled the funds requisite to pay the soldiers. This is not the case at present, since the viceroys collect the bulk of the taxation with the exception of the customs revenue, which is pledged for the repayment of foreign loans. Intrigue and counter-

intrigue go on to-day in Peking as they have gone on for centuries. A month ago the influence of Yuan-Shih-Kai was increasing. To-day it has received a check. Should it prevail eventually, and Yuan-Shih-Kai establish himself as mentor to the throne, and maintain his position when the present Empress dies, it does not follow that he will be supported in the southern provinces. Even in the north the policy for which he stands will not necessarily continue beyond his life.

The one factor in the situation which can be counted upon to endure is the loyalty to existing institutions of the Chinese people. I was shown notices in Chinese character, pasted on the walls of Peking, inviting subscriptions to a fund for paying off the foreign debt. This fund was started privately by a Chinese newspaper and is supported by voluntary subscriptions only, yet it already totals thirty thousand pounds—a sum which means in China a very great deal more than in Europe. It appeals to private endeavour to enable the dynasty to abstain from levying new taxes to pay European claims for Boxer outrages; and the spirit which is behind it is the strongest that exists in China. The country is used to misgovernment, or rather to absence of government; but innovation, and particularly foreign innovation, is so resented that any scheme, no matter how preposterous, which claims to operate in the direction of ending it finds ready support. The new Peking bids fair to be surprisingly like the old.

The point of assimilation in methods, and even in morals, will no doubt some day come, and when it does we may look for a tremendous accompaniment. At present Western ideas seem little more than boats upon the old ocean of the Chinese consciousness. The mind of Kuang Hsü's four hundred million subjects still sways to its own laws, and pays little permanent heed to the disturbing splash of alien oarsmen.

CHAPTER X

THE COOLIE TRAFFIC IN CHIHLI

A WIND-SWEPT sand-spit, jutting out into the Pichihli Gulf, with a few corrugated iron sheds, some rough stone bungalows, a pile pier and an open log-built railway platform, complete the equipment of Chen-wang-tao, the ice-free winter port of Peking and Tientsin, and the place of shipment of the fifty thousand Chinese coolies whose presence on the Rand has produced such heart-searchings in political England. One reaches the place in four or five hours from Tientsin by one or the many north-bound trains carrying cattle and farm supplies to restock devastated areas in Manchuria. Chen-wang-tao's hotel accommodation is designed for the coolies only. I went commended, however, to the Protector of Emigrants for the Transvaal, who very kindly put me up and showed me all there was to see of the recruitment at this point.

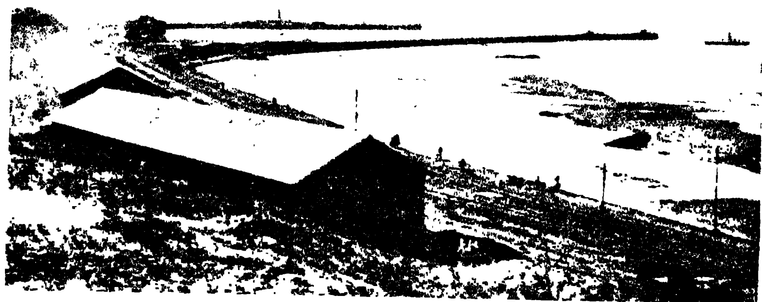
The coolie depôt stands back under the lee of the ridge, where there is some slight shelter. We ploughed through soft, heavy sand to the courtyard where the ground was gravelled. The coolies are

housed in spacious quarters with walls of stone and roofs of red iron. The accessories, from the police guard supplied by the Chinese Government, to the tank of hot water in which the coolies attain much-needed cleanliness, are upon a business-like and liberal scale. I was in time to inspect one of the last of the gangs of coolies to be despatched to South Africa. It was soon after dawn when I reached the depôt and the morning was chilly. From the dormitories, as I approached, came cheerful sounds of loud talk and lusty laughter, which suggested anything but the low spirits of a downtrodden people, or dissatisfaction with the contract that was being completed. I went inside in company with my host. We were at once surrounded by a crowd of coolies, all immensely interested in examining myself and my garments, for a new foreigner is a whole variety entertainment to persons waiting for a ship at Chen-wang-tao. The coolies had decided that they wanted a fire to beguile their leisure, and they did not hesitate to assail my companion with voluble demands to give it to them.

They insisted like spoilt children.

"Look at this foreigner's clothes," said one of them, in illustration of his argument, as he took hold familiarly of my coat, and felt the texture of the cloth. "It is thicker than ours."

Their own clothes were of substantial blue cotton cloth, in some cases single, in others padded with cotton-wool, and at least as warm as anything they





I WAS IN TIME TO INSPECT ONE OF THE LAST OF THE GANGS OF COOLIES TO BE DESPATCHED TO SOUTH AFRICA

would have worn under similar circumstances at home, where fuel would have been far too expensive to play with. The noisiest of the crew was a youth of some eighteen or twenty years of age, with the copper-coloured skin, angular cheekbones, and argumentative voice of the Tientsin street arab. He pushed his companions in the ribs to prevent their interrupting his own strident vociferation. Close to him in the group was a coolie of a very different type, with wheat-coloured oval countenance moulded to the round outlines of a contemplative Mongolian Buddha. The rest varied between these widely separated extremes.

The coolie-lines are within a walled enclosure, which also contains kitchen, offices, and a long series of rooms through which the coolies pass on their way to the railway-siding, whence a train carries them to their ship. Within these rooms the coolies are stripped, washed, medically examined, arrayed in new clothes, supplied with necessaries, and subjected to magisterial interrogation by Chinese officials appointed to look after their interests, and to secure that they shall understand the nature of the contracts that they sign. Each man receives an advance of thirty Chinese dollars (£3) before he leaves the yard. He then interviews through a grille any relations who may be there to see him off, and goes on board not only clean and comfortably attired, but also triumphant, for the service is so sought after that only a portion of those who apply for it can be selected.

The resident staff includes a European doctor, a mandarin protector of emigrants appointed by the Peking Government, my friend the representative of the Transvaal Government, and a manager appointed by the Johannesburg Chamber of Mines, who happened to be a Canadian. The coolies are thus under official protection of both the country from which they start and that to which they go. They make the fullest use of all the facilities that are afforded to them.

In Tientsin resides a European recruiting-agent appointed by the Johannesburg Chamber of Mines, who supervises a number of Chinese sub-agents in the various districts of North China from which the coolies are drawn. I visited the main office in Tientsin city, where a small Chinese staff is maintained under European direction for the special purpose of paying to families in China the allowances sent by coolies upon the Rand. Some eight thousand out of the fifty thousand shipped to South Africa send such remittances to their homes. The total paid out monthly in Tientsin amounts to about forty thousand Chinese dollars (£4,000). The average individual remittance is five dollars—a sum sufficient for the maintenance for that time of a workman's family on the scale of comfort usual in the country. A coolie on the Rand receives a minimum of fifteen dollars monthly. He may double his earnings by doing piece-work, and can count in any case upon receiving the minimum, so long as he lives and behaves himself. His contract

is for three years. At the end of that period he receives a free passage back to China, and must either avail himself of it or sign on for a further period of indentured service. A good many bad characters managed to get shipped at first and have since had to be sent back to China. In a few cases the words "Once repatriated" appear upon the history sheet of a coolie. They mean that the man has got out again, after having been sent back as undesirable. This occurred in the early days of the undertaking, before the present system of supervision had been perfected. It is now but very seldom that a man who has once been rejected succeeds in getting accepted in a fresh outgoing batch; but some Tientsin bad characters boast that they have done so, and thereby twice secured the thirty-dollar advance, besides four passages forwards and backwards between Chen-wang-tao and Johannesburg, at the expense of the mines. When the system of finger-print identification, which is under introduction, is in full working, such incidents will become impossible. That they should have occurred in the past shows how popular is emigration amongst the people concerned. The "two-times-I-go" men have had their day.

I watched a gang of countrymen passing through the office to receive remittances sent to them by relatives on the Rand; for, as I have explained, neither the Chinese post-office nor the native bankers are trusted with any large portion of the remitting. Of the coolies I talked to through an

interpreter, one was a weather-worn farmer, who had come in seventy miles by boat to collect money from his son at the mines. His eye softened as five solid silver dollars were counted into his hand. He said no word; but now he knew for certain that the son who had stolen away from home in hasty quarrel was alive, for had not the clerks searched through the register and not found against his name any of those red-ink entries of "deceased," "deserted," or "repatriated," which would have meant sorrow or disgrace or both? The old man was in no great want of the money. His blue cotton coat and leg-clothes and parti-coloured felt boots were warm and in good repair. He carried a substantial umbrella of yellow bamboo and black-painted paper, that had cost forty cents quite recently. His crops this year were heavy. The remittance would be added to previous hoardings for buying land, and two seasons hence, when "Hu of the Great Happiness" (Hu Tu Fu) should come home after his three years' venture, there would be no more running away to Africa.

A small, crooked-eyed man in grey had walked in twenty miles by road to cash an allowance which had been sent by his cousin. This cousin, he explained, had lived in his house when times had been hard, and was now faithfully discharging his debt for the kindness he had received. A poor blear-eyed creature, with contracted putty-coloured face, and tiny brass opium pipe dangling by a chain from a shaky wrist, was there to cash a remittance sent

him by a brother. He would spend the money no doubt on the drug he could no longer do without.

A middle-aged peasant had brought a straw-paper envelope covered with black hieroglyphics upon a red address-slip, which contained a letter of home news and shrewd advice to be posted to an absent son. In a rack above the door were a dozen similar missives, frayed and soiled from the handling they had received on their journey from the Rand, but safe and ready for delivery to whoever should identify his own name in the addresses they displayed.

Inside the office were leather-bound books with long columns of entries which told how dutiful "Li of the Everlasting Harmony" (Li Yung Ho) had paid to his old father "Li the Forest Ranger" (Li Tso Liu), every month regularly for more than a year, what would keep the whole family in comfort at home. I learnt that the "Prince of the Old Hostel" (Wang Lao Tin) had not been to collect the remittance sent by his nephew, the "Prince of the Sea Gate" (Wang Hai Men) for three months, though the money was lying there waiting for him. I ascertained that "Fang's" wife, whose family name as a maiden had been "Li" (Fang Li Shih), for women in China have no first names, had collected two months' remittance from her loving son, "Fang the Pillar" (Fang Chu).

A drawer full of small black bank-books in neat leather cases represented the accounts of coolies who had remitted for a time and then decided to

send no more. Long columns on thin, yellow note-paper told to him who could decipher them of complicated disputes about the ownership of money.

"I came away to Africa and trusted to Kao San to draw my wages for my family; and I think that, owing to the fact that I do not know where this man lives in China, or whether Kao San is his rightful name, I am afraid I shall lose the money I am working for here," wrote confiding Pao Wu Yuan, who had handed over his signed remittance sheets to a casual acquaintance upon the road, and now besought the European general manager to recover the documents.

"I ran away from home. My mother's name is Chao Chung, and she is not a widow," began a complicated letter in which Chu Ho explained that the lady he had nominated to receive his remittances was not what he had represented her to be, and asked that the money should now be applied elsewhere.

I learnt from a neat Chinese clerk, whom I found painting his language into a book, that a picture of a windmill stands for the name of the province Chihli, and that two black hooks hanging precariously to two upright strokes signify the hinged gate which they roughly portray. I was reminded besides that writing in Chinese still requires artistic talent, and that the accomplished work is of a kind to make the author justly proud. I know no country but China where even the hasty scribbling of a pencil note attracts respectful curiosity, nor shall I forget the

comfortable assurance of a highly educated English-speaking secretary, in a Governor's yamen, who, when bidden by the Governor to translate what I had taken down, disregarded my well-intentioned promptings and said with superiority, after examining my notebook, that my writing was in "the running hand," and therefore undecipherable.

Tientsin is one of the many dusty cities of China. One is tempted to wonder how long would elapse before one's own eyes would screw themselves into the crookedness of those of its Mongolian inhabitants if one were compelled to stay there. Notwithstanding the dust, Tientsin is a healthy place of residence even for Europeans. In the matter of material prosperity the city promises eventually to rival such busy centres as Hong Kong and Shanghai. Its foreign settlement already possesses broad streets and substantial houses, and is becoming an example of the immensity of the possibilities of commercial development in China wherever trade is encouraged. This is the more significant as nothing bigger than a coasting steamer can get up the narrow river to the wharves, and the port is closed by ice for several months each year. The trade during the winter finds an outlet at Chen-wang-tao, where vessels lie in an open roadstead of the Pichili Gulf.

The Chen-wang-tao harbour is the property of the Chinese Engineering and Mining Company, which of recent years has had as managers two

Anglo-Indians, Mr. Wynne, now a member of the Indian Railway Board, and Major Nathan, who, I understand, began his Eastern career in the Indian Public Works Department. This is a flourishing concern, in spite of a serious dispute in which it is engaged with the Chinese Government as to the ownership of the extensive properties it controls. Its mines are situated between Chen-wang-tao and Tientsin, and are turning out anything from two hundred thousand to a million tons of coal per annum, of very fair quality, which is in use throughout the whole of Northern China. The demand for this coal so far exceeds the supply that I found Tientsin merchants groaning almost as loudly as those of Calcutta upon the subject of their difficulties; but this state of things appears to have been only temporary. Recently the company has won one lawsuit brought by the Chinese Government to secure a determining voice in its direction; but an appeal has yet to be heard. Meanwhile one may recognise the competence of the present management in the excellent thirty-ton coal-wagons of uniform bogie pattern fitted with automatic couplings, which are in use for carrying the coal to Chen-wang-tao for shipment to ports along the coast. These wagons compare favourably not only with such trucks as I have seen elsewhere in China, but also with the heterogeneous collection of miscellaneous-pattern rolling-stock to be seen in India plying to the docks of Calcutta. Both Tientsin and Chen-wang-tao make an enormous demand upon

the country for labour; but the supply appears to be inexhaustible.

From Chen-wang-tao I went by rail along the coast to Shan-hai-kwan ("Between the Mountain and the Sea"), the queer old fortified city where the three thousand miles of grey brick towers and earth-backed battlements, which are the Great Wall of China, end upon the shore of the Pichihli Gulf. A springless mule cart, with gowned Manchu driver, rendered possible but penible the crossing of the stony gravel-heaped plain upon which the city is built. Thence I scrambled on foot some hundreds of feet up steep, grassy rocks amidst clumps of scentless violets and dwarf oak-trees. Personal comments from unsympathetic local riffraff, who are the foreigner's bane in China, punctuated my exertions. The summit had its village and a cheap, gaudy joss-house. Upon one side the loneliness of a dark, wooded gorge was broken by a white mountain stream in a setting of yellow sand; and on the other stretched the cheerful humanity of a wide rolling plain, where the ochre earth glistened through seedling crops to end sharply in the blue expanse of the Pichihli Gulf.

The city of Shan-hai-kwan, with its grey castellated walls and gateways, is an irregular patch where the plain is cut in two by a long, sharp line of earthwork which connects the square keeps upon the mountain with the shore of the gulf. A shallow, winding river breaks through a narrow gap in the ruined fortifications at the

foot of the mountain. Behind the slopes rise steeply; and height beyond height is crowned with grey stone towers that stand out against the sunset. On the green earth-banked side of the wall lies multitudinous China. On its steep, crenulated side stretches spacious Manchuria. The broken parapets have no modern use. The virile northern barbarian they so long held at bay rules the softer and more industrious southerner who built them. The mail train draws up for the night under the ruined masonry; but that is only because hurry is unknown in leisurely Northern China. Shan-hai-kwan is a frontier post no longer.

Another twelve hours' journey along the sea-coast, through a country which cold rain had suddenly converted into a slough of slippery mud, brought me to the terminus on the western bank of the Liao-ho. Here I was deposited upon a bare spit of mud, with leaden-coloured water lashing itself into anger upon either side. A leaky dinghy with Manchu boatmen ferried me precariously across to the wharves of Neuchwang.

The province of Chihli through which I had thus passed was selected by the Johannesburg Chamber of Mines as the recruiting ground for coolies for the Rand with excellent reason. It teems with hardy labour. Upon the platforms of wayside stations where the train drew up were crowds of immensely powerful countrymen standing about in the rain in rough yellow oilskins, presum-



THE SWAMPY HARBOUR OF NEUCHWANG

ably to guard the line. The train was full of their friends and brothers going backwards and forwards between their work and their villages. The streets of Tientsin were black with stalwart workmen busily following their respective trades, who gave an impression of numbers and of hardihood that I formed in no other city. Yuan-Shih-Kai has raised the bulk of his seventy thousand soldiers in the province without materially reducing the supply of men available. The fifty thousand coolies shipped to South Africa have been but a fraction of the balance. There remains a source of rough and ill-mannered, but also industrious and capable labour, which is available for transportation to any field, no matter how distant, that can offer good wages. Unlike the Indian coolie, the Chinese has no fear of the sea, no caste to break by crossing it, and no levitical penalties to face when he returns. He is also content to leave his women at home, and thus the problem of dealing with him in expatriation is simplified. He is the true industrial adventurer. Political danger may lurk in too greedy an appreciation of him; but there is no doubt that he stores in his stout body much of the energy which is needed to furnish the industries of the modern world.

CHAPTER XI

PORT ARTHUR AS IT IS

IN traversing China from Shanghai to the Great Wall my passport was not once asked for. I was free with all the world to go or come as I would. On reaching the confines of Manchuria this was no longer the case. Manchuria was closed to all foreigners except Japanese, who were pouring in and out freely. A prompt exception was made in favour of accredited British officers, who were admitted as honoured guests, guided over the battlefields, and passed on from one hospitable military headquarters to another. A civilian had first, upon one or two points, to establish his character. I was closely examined by the Japanese Administration at Neuchwang as to the objects of my journey. I was suspected of trade samples and observed for invoices. I might have had piece-goods in my pocket, a comprador in my kit-bag, a street railway up my sleeve. Never was the fourth estate more diligently sworn to or more difficult to establish. Official telegrams flew between the Administrator of Neuchwang and the Governor of Port Arthur. I was beginning to

feel what it is to be an undesirable alien, when the reply from Port Arthur arrived, and I found myself suddenly transformed into a friend. I was called upon and entertained, and not allowed to pay my own way upon the railway. I found myself shepherded wherever I went. A launch, courteously furnished by the Japanese Administrator, conveyed me to the terminus of the railway which is a couple of miles outside Neuchwang. A Japanese officer who spoke excellent English saw me off.

The railway station of Neuchwang exemplifies what I found afterwards throughout both Manchuria and Korea. It is located away from the existing city, to enable the land around it to be taken up for a Japanese settlement, the Administration recognising, with careful foresight, that such land is certain to become valuable. The city, in fact, is to move to the railway, not the railway to the city. Regular traffic—for Japanese only—had been resumed upon the line. The train was full of Japanese, including military men, coolies, and traders. We changed to the main line from Harbin in the night. After that the train ran through to the junction for Dalny, whence a branch carried us to our destination, the entire journey taking only about sixteen hours.

The line traverses the Liaotung peninsula from one end to the other. The fields are stony, the crops on the ground poor. Bare, round-topped kopjes, from which every tree has disappeared, give narrow horizon to the landscape. The country grows wilder and more rugged as the train moves south.

The ruins of grey brick houses, with big Russian windows, and broken, pagoda-tiled roofs, shiver naked, in the cold rain, about the railway stations. This grey brick is one of the most characteristic urban features of China, and it does not add to the cheerfulness of a damaged town. Holes, torn in the walls by shell-fire, expose the débris of enormous Russian stoves, of iron or glazed earthenware. The names of the stations are still in the Russian character. Smart Japanese, in uniforms borrowed from Germany and France, inquire pleasantly for one's passport, usually with at least an English "Thank you," to go with the bow. The document is so often asked for that one feels inclined to put it where the American traveller puts his railway ticket, in one's hat.

The Chinese inhabitant of the country is curiously scarce. Occasionally he hawks a big basket of excellent boiled eggs upon the platform, but even hawking is done more often by a Japanese coolie. Now and again the train passes the wretched mud hovels of a Chinese village. The fields are cultivated along the railway, but the long, blue coat which proclaims the Chinese villager, is seen but little upon the line. The Chinese women have crept back out of their hiding-places; the men never entirely deserted their fields. The slaughter and license of the long campaign have left the survivors numb. If the British were in the place of the Japanese they would have large gangs of the inhabitants at work at every station, restoring the

houses, building feeder-roads into the interior, and incidentally earning money that would bring back prosperity. Unlike the Japanese, we might forget that we were under contract to quit; but the country would present a less depressing spectacle than at present.

The kopjes link themselves together as the train approaches the narrow neck of the Port Arthur peninsula. The steep, pale-green slopes are scarred with red where the drainage has cut vertically into the soil, making channels which are natural shelter-trenches. Grey rocks, behind each of which a defender might crouch in comparative safety from rifle fire, jostle each other in crowded masses. One traverses the isthmus in the middle of the day, and may obtain an excellent view of the positions held by both the Russians and the Japanese in the big fight which preceded the Port Arthur siege. The isthmus is so completely commanded by the kopjes which General Stoessel fortified, that the feat of the Japanese in capturing it seems as incredible as any other performance of the war. I passed twice over the spot, once on my way to Port Arthur, and once, afterwards, going north into Manchuria. The route is a good one to take on the way to Port Arthur; for a view of this preliminary battlefield prepares one for the further proofs of disparity in fighting efficiency, between attackers and defenders, which stare from the shell-torn defences of what in other hands might have proved an impregnable citadel.

Before entering Port Arthur the train picks its way round the exposed, stony slopes of 203 Metre Hill. The traveller has but to put his head out of the train window to obtain an idea of the overwhelming difficulty of the task performed by General Nogi's devoted army. The height which cost ten thousand men to capture has nothing to shelter its occupants from the pitiless fire of well-built Russian forts. The ridge is torn to pieces on the top, and burrowed into at the sides, until it has become a mere stony rubbish-heap. Later on, when I had quitted the train and obtained the necessary permission of the authorities to go over the defences, I had opportunity of seeing that the position of the Japanese, after they had captured the height, must have been very similar to that of the British upon Spion Kop. The trenches of the Russian defenders are obscured by the superimposed Japanese works, facing in the opposite direction. The whole has since been demolished to remove the bodies, for the parapets were constructed of more than stones and earth, wounded, as well as dead, getting built into them in the frantic haste of men endeavouring to shelter themselves from overwhelming shell-fire. Even now the entire surface is strewn with distorted shrapnel-bullets, and rusty shell-fragments; and every shower washes additional mementos out of the ground.

From the summit of the hill one sees the whole of the harbour of Port Arthur spread out below,

in wide green expanse. No glasses are requisite to make out the two Russian war-vessels, still awash upon a mud-flat, where they sank under Japanese howitzer-fire directed from the captured height. The grey city and its numerous suburbs stretch out into the distance, beside and beyond the broad, white quays. It is easy to recognise the decisive nature of the position for which the Japanese deliberately paid so terrible a price.

Purple violets, white-flowered Siberian edelweiss, green thyme and grey-leafed wormwood are aiding sparse grass, dark dwarf pines and brown-leafed Chinese oaks to cover up what has been. The curious must also be careful, for at his feet, amid the stones, are green, corroded buttons still attached to the matted fur of a grey Russian overcoat, and from the collar protrudes a column of dry, yellow cartilage and bone. That brown, mouldy, Japanese jack-boot, too, cast out so carelessly amongst weather-worn rags of what once were Calcutta-made jute sand-bags, lies more heavily upon its side than an empty boot should lie. A piece of a human jawbone, showing white where the young sound molars are smashed, rolls down the bare, steep incline with a loosened stone.

Throughout the long line of eastern forts, where the fierce attack of August, 1904, failed to break the defence, the ground is equally eloquent of the struggle. The green turf of the steep hillsides is splashed with brown holes where gun-shots have struck. The wrecks of guns of position

are strewn along the crest. The stony slopes below are burrowed in all directions by mines, counter-mines, and trenches. A stick of yellow dynamite, still ready to explode, lies between two pebbles in a whitey-brown paper wrapper on which the name of its German maker stands out in bold, black type. Rusty hand-grenade tins, dented, but in many cases unexploded, lie where they were hurled at approaching Japanese. Live shells, also too liable to go off unexpectedly for the casual visitor to annex, may still be picked up in quantity, including baby pompom projectiles and the missiles of the heavier guns; for many percussion fuses did not strike fair on impact, shells often alighting with the wrong end foremost and failing, in consequence, to explode at first. Enormous masses of pebbly concrete, with the débris of six-inch guns, smashed and hurled hundreds of feet from the forts which the Russians blew up, are still scattered amidst the ruins. One may look down a dark, underground passage, dug by the Japanese into the heart of one of the Russian works, and terminating there in the gaping hole of an exploded mine, and wander along miles of tangled barbed-wire, and bristling stake-pits. Sunken spots and patches of green weeds and grass, in otherwise sterile ground, tell a continual tale of what lies in shallow graves beneath the surface. The authorities have endeavoured to burn with kerosine oil whatever was incapable of interment; but the Japanese officers

and men who are pouring into Port Arthur, on their way home from Manchuria, will long find only too graphic evidence for all their senses, of the fighting. Coolies are sifting out of exposed banks along the Russian works, incredible quantities of pencil-shaped bullets marked with the spiral that tells of their having been fired from Japanese rifles.

Port Arthur is holy ground for all Japan, but the old Samurai families have left there so many of their best and bravest that they can claim it especially their own. Officers on duty, in far Manchurian stations, still speak with simple philosophy of the friends they have lost. I have seen flowers, picked from the battlefields, treasured in little pocket-books by sunburnt veterans who would have seemed the last to indulge in sentiment. The long, white name-flags of the slain no longer hang beneath the red and white Japanese national banner in the villages of gallant Kiusiu; but every straw-roofed maisonette will treasure some memento of the fields where husbands and sons gave their lives freely and gladly for their country.

Within the defences, the city of Port Arthur is depressingly desolate. Whole terraces of fine Russian houses stand empty and dilapidated. Japanese coolies have been imported in large numbers, in connection with such works as the raising of the sunken battle-ships and the building of the new Japanese forts upon Golden Hill; and they now ply with jinrick-shaws for hire in the streets. Japanese shopkeepers have opened stores of all kinds for the use of the

garrison; but there is no demand for good accommodation. The buildings struck by shells during the siege are generally in ruins. No attempt has been made to alter the fire-scorched heap which is all that remains of the theatre which roystering Russians made famous throughout the East. The beer-gardens are empty, and their once well-kept shrubs are growing into jungle. The wreck of a Russian cruiser, blown up inside the substantial stone graving basin, blocks the dockyard. Comfortable droshkies, with good Russian horses between the shafts, rattle briskly over well-macadamised roads. The names of makers in Odessa are engraved upon neat gun-metal plates upon the coach-boxes; but the drivers are blue-coated Manchurians and the occupants Japanese in uniform.

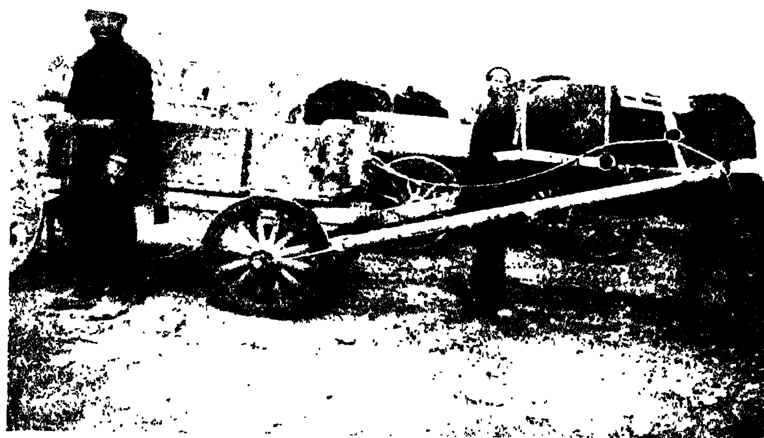
The principal hotel is run by a manager from Tokyo. Russian tea, knives and forks stamped in Moscow, a big stove and roomy windows, recall a different past; but a shell-rent in the door and a comfortable kimono beside one's bed, to wear on the way to a copious hot Japanese bath, bring back the present reality. Once I saw one of the red-faced, bearded Russians who are associated with the place. I rubbed my eyes, but he was real, a solitary specimen admitted under some special circumstances, to close up his affairs. His presence emphasised the desolation of the change which has occurred. The chateaux, with double windows and spacious halls, built by extravagant Muscovites with ideas of Empire in their minds, are

too big for the small Japanese administration staffs. From the pavement along the esplanade, which is formed of granite slabs so long that each reaches from one side to the other, down to electric lighting plant, of which use is still being made, everything is in excess of present requirements. The Port Arthur of the Russians is totally different from the Port Arthur of the Japanese.

No European, however he may admire the achievements of the present owners and sympathise with the objects they have had in view, can see this place as it now is, without some sore thought for the men who staked and lost so much there. The claim of race, made oftener than one cares to count in any progress through Manchuria, obscures, with a pulse that is almost physical, the dictates of reason. The traveller admires, but cannot entirely admire, and applauds, but not wholly. He learns many things upon these battlefields, but the thing of which he is surest is that Russians are not aliens.

Not only as a city, but also as a naval base, Port Arthur has seen its day. The Japanese have wisely decided to content themselves with making the harbour secure from any sudden dash of a hostile fleet, and to trust to command of the sea to do the rest. The haven and its dockyard will become a useful coaling and repair station for the Japanese fleet upon the North China coast; and money will not be wasted upon keeping up the enormously extensive defences which weakened the resources of the Russian garrison. Japan has no need for more.





IN PORT ARTHUR TODAY

Her own fine harbours in the Inland Sea are her proper strategic base. She will dispose to the best advantage of effects collected at the cost of millions by others and now surplus to her requirements.

The precise part which military Port Arthur and its commercial brother, Dalny (re-christened Tairen by the Japanese) are to play, in relation with the other Manchurian ports of Neuchwang and Antung, will now gradually be determined. Manchuria is a treasure-house which has Neuchwang and Antung as wide-open windows on either side, communicating direct with the central chamber, and Port Arthur and Dalny as narrow doors, set at the end of a long and contracted passage. The windows are far more convenient than the doors for purposes of both entrance and exit, but are barred in the winter, while the doors are not.

Strategically, Port Arthur and Dalny gave Russia the warm-water harbours in the Far East which she needed for her fleet; but commercially neither of them prospered very notably in her hands. Their future is now further contracted. The natural wealth of Manchuria is great, but it is situated far from the Liaotung peninsula in which Port Arthur and Dalny stand. The stupendously rich coal-fields and grain lands in the north have distant Mukden as their centre, and the Liao river, with Neuchwang at its mouth, as their natural outlet. The timber forests in the East are capable of competing successfully with the American lumber upon which China now depends for much of its supply; but they also

have an outlet of their own. They are located about the upper reaches of the Yalu river, and can float their produce by water to Antung far more cheaply than a railway could carry it to any other port. Dalny is suitable as a distributing centre for the piece-goods and other manufactured articles, which are imported into Manchuria to pay for beans, coal, and timber exported. It may be capable, as well, of attracting a portion of the exports.

The annual freezing of the Neuchwang harbour locks up the greater part of the bean produce of the Mukden plain. Capital is not turned over, nor is the crop got to market as quickly as would be the case were a constantly open port employed. On the other hand, money is saved on freight. Flat-bottomed junks may often stick upon mud-banks, and wait weeks for water in the shallow Liao-ho; but eventually they reach Neuchwang, where they put their produce direct upon the small but efficient coasting steamers that do the whole of the trade of the North China coasts. The sand-blocked Yalu river is also far from an ideal highway. Its port is a miserable place, but possesses distinct advantages. It is the terminus of the standard-gauge railway to Seoul, which taps the produce of North Korea. It is also the terminus of the narrow field-railway to Mukden, which is to be converted eventually to the standard-gauge. Pine and cedar logs, from the interior, are floated in rafts alongside its wharves. Its waters

CHAPTER XII

NORTHWARDS IN MANCHURIA

A CROWD of Japanese officers, in black uniforms, voluminous service cloaks, Blücher boots, and smart German staff caps, was assembled on the Port Arthur railway platform, in front of a corrugated-iron ticket office, at seven o'clock one morning, when the train by which I was to travel was starting. The reason of so early a gathering was to give a send-off to a Japanese general officer who was leaving for up-country to rejoin his brigade. The ceremony of the leave-taking was one that I was subsequently to see repeated many times over in Manchuria, Korea, and Japan. The general stood in a regulation attitude upon the footboard of the carriage, and had something friendly to say to every individual present, not excluding the landlord of the little Port Arthur inn where he had put up, or the coolie in blue tights who had carried his luggage, and now waited, hat in hand, his patient Japanese countenance illuminated with the smile of adoration that only the condescension of a popular general officer of his own nationality can evoke.

The occasion was official, so there was much German saluting. It was also social, as was testified by the cheerful peals of laughter from everybody present, which followed as boisterously upon the sallies of the youngest subaltern as upon those of bemedalled colonels and majors. The last salute was made and the last joke registered as the train moved off. I had made the general's acquaintance previously, and he asked me into his special carriage, luckily for me, as he was the only person upon the train whose speech I could understand. With the courtesy of his class he made me welcome all day upon his leopard skin. The adjutant and half-dozen subalterns who composed his staff travelled in a partially separated compartment, whence pleasant sounds of restrained laughter and talk floated to us continuously. German is the European language most often known by Japanese officers; and my companion spoke it with fluency. It was of course the experience most desired by every traveller—the realisation for himself, by actual contact, of the long-accepted theory of the Japanese military character. It was delightful to obtain this and to find, over the wide field of subjects we discussed, that sound sense, modesty, keenness, kindliness, and sureness of self, with which one had clothed the type so freely in imagination.

When we parted in the evening I had obtained a glimmering, which subsequent experiences confirmed, of the spirit that pervades the entire Japanese army in the field. It has been my good

fortune since to meet and to discuss the current political situation in the Far East with many Japanese leading men, from Marquis Ito downwards. No one can do this and fail to comprehend, at least in part, the enthusiasm which made the victories of Metre Hill and Liaoyang possible. Sir Ernest Satow referred, in a recent speech at Tokyo, to the self-sacrificing loyalty of the Samurai towards his feudal chief as a base of Japan's great successes. One cannot travel long in Manchuria without recognising that there is a converse to this statement. It is that the Japanese leader is a man to inspire the devotion he commands.

The superior mixes with the subordinate upon a footing of something oddly like equality. I have seen a sergeant interpose a remark in a conversation between two captains in the train, and be responded to, as a matter of course, with geniality equal to his own. The food and warmth of his men is of more importance to the officer than his personal comfort. Good fellowship is universal. It permeates the Japanese army, from the top to the bottom. The general can count upon every man in his command. Selfishness seems to be almost an unknown factor, at all events in its obvious and familiar forms. Every soldier has confidence in his fellows. The cost to himself of what he may be called upon to do is the last thing to which he directs his thoughts.

The country opens as the Port Arthur train

proceeds northwards into Manchuria. The kopjes separate from one another; the stony fields become brown and loamy. Dingy mud homesteads, stunted oaks, dark pines, and vivid green pear-trees come into the picture at intervals. Streams appear, though very occasionally, flowing briskly through wide stretches of yellow sand, at the bottoms of valleys they have scooped for themselves below the general level of the country. The skeleton of a wrecked train lies at the bottom of one of the railway embankments. The whole of the iron-work, including wheels, springs, and frames, rusts in tangled confusion where it fell off the track; but not a particle of the woodwork remains. White paint hangs to the stanchions in places, and is quite unsinged. The absence of wood is not due to accidental fire, but is because the Manchurian villagers are so badly off for fuel that they have picked the iron bones clean of everything capable of being converted into warmth in the long winter months.

This scarcity of fuel is reducing Central Manchuria to a treeless land. The gigantic coal deposits in the Mukden plain will no doubt supply the deficiency some day: meanwhile reeds and millet-stalks are used to an astonishing extent for both fuel and building. I have it from a Japanese mining engineer of experience, who has inspected the Mukden coal-field, that one of the seams is one hundred and twenty feet thick, and that the quality of the mineral compares with that of the

Welsh product. There were no means of checking this statement, but every one upon the spot with whom I have discussed the matter, is agreed that the value of the deposits is enormous. The mines are amongst the concessions transferred to Japanese ownership by the Portsmouth Treaty; but I am told that only about five hundred tons *per diem* are being raised at present, and that the whole of this amount is absorbed by the local railways and steamers. The Manchurians, meanwhile, are cutting down every tree that is unguarded. The Japanese in consequence have found the praiseworthy endeavour they have been making to re-afforest the Port Arthur peninsula almost as difficult as has been the corresponding task of the Germans at Tsing-tao. In each case young trees have been torn down ruthlessly, and much of the work has had to be done twice over.

It was the middle of the night when the train pulled up at the bleak Liaoyang station, a place which seems, to the belated visitor, a thousand miles from anywhere. A Japanese subaltern stepped out of chaos with a paper lantern to meet me; and I was glad to see him. We were soon tramping together through mud and rain, in what, but for the paper lantern, would have been utter darkness, to find the military rest-house. My luggage followed upon the shoulders of two sturdy little soldiers in uniform. My hospitable conductor told me in broken German that he had been warned by telegram, by my fellow-

passenger of the morning, to expect me, which accounted for my reception. We were soon in the rest-house, which has been constructed out of a one-storied Russian building. I was regaled upon refreshing green tea and lighted to a comfortable bed with the bedclothes of Europe, no doubt a Russian legacy.

A familiar bugle woke me in the morning. A polite little soldier conducted me to a tub and gave me Japanese breakfast with many bows, and a smiling solicitude for my comfort that added another flavour of the country to every dish. My subaltern friend turned up with an orderly afterwards; and the three of us were quickly mounted upon tough little Central Asian ponies, and scrambling cheerfully in and out of dykes and Russian trenches in the open country beyond the town.

Sharp rain, with cold wind behind it, beat in our faces, numbing our hands, and finding chilly way into boots and garments till we were wet to the skin. The ground was a slippery quagmire of sodden clay. The watercourses were swollen and the trenches treacherous, but the clever little ponies struggled gamely across them. The millet of the country, which grows to be ten feet high, was only showing above the ground, so every fold and crease in the expanse could be seen clearly. The main defences of the Russian position consisted of elaborate star-shaped forts, with heavily timbered shelter-trenches, surrounded by wire entanglements and stake-pits. These forts are set in a

wide circle around Liaoyang. They are about a mile apart from each other and a mile in advance of the old city wall. Most of the fighting took place, however, much further afield, General Kuroki pressing in upon the Russian left, while Nodzu hammered at the centre, and Oku on the right; the Japanese advancing from the east and south in a semicircle of fifty miles radius.

Some four miles out we rode round a high bare kopje of grey rock showing through the grass, which overlooks the rich brown plain on which Liaoyang stands. On the summit is now a rough stone memorial tower.

At the foot, where the cultivation ends and the steep grassy slope begins, is a straggling Manchu village of brown mud huts, which was captured and recaptured again and again in the long-drawn-out fight. Beyond the village, a red scar, amidst grey rocks on the green expanse, indicates a line of hastily built Russian trenches, extending for miles through the hills, with frequent gun-emplacements at lower elevations in the rear behind the crests. Many of the advanced bastions, whence the Russians directed the fire of their men, are still intact. The main line is broken in numerous places. From the Russian positions one looks towards the lines from which the Japanese advanced. The view is of bare hills, which are high on the east and sink into rich cultivated plain to the south and west. The entrenchments were noticeably mainly Russian. Japanese officers

I have talked with recognise that their men had to learn in this respect from the enemy. They are characteristically modest about the obviously superior *morale* which enabled them to attack, in the open, lines long prepared and strongly held. They make the reasonable claim, however, that in individual initiative they had a superiority which was often of decisive value. They found the Russians entirely dependent upon their officers and completely disorganised without them. When it became necessary to retreat, the Russian soldier flung away rifle, clothes, and transport and gave no thought to the future. The Japanese could act upon his own initiative; he had resources and confidence in himself and stuck always tenaciously to his rifle.

My pony slipped heavily, once in the course of the day, on a wet skull, half-buried in one of the trenches. The effect of shell-fire was evident upon some of the earthworks, but the soft loam of the country had absorbed most of the more obvious marks of the fighting. Graves are plentiful, but they are not conspicuous. Yellow cowslips and blue irises are poking gentle faces through the long, wet grass above them. Village huts have been rebuilt with the materials of ruined neighbours, whose owners have disappeared. The rain has washed ashes and roofless mud walls into the spongy soil. Every stick of unclaimed timber has been carried away. The village dogs are no longer sated. They attacked us so hungrily, as our ponies

waded through the filthy quagmire, which is the road between the huts, that the orderly was tempted into drawing his sword upon them. Big-boned Manchurians and their listless women and ragged children peered out of doorways as we passed. There was little else to indicate that we were in what, two years ago, was a hotly contested corner of one of the biggest battlefields in the world.

Our route, on the return journey, took us by the Antung trunk-road, which figures upon the maps as having been the main channel of supplies for Kuroki's army. It is a mere track through a vast plain of cultivation, without metalling of any kind. We found mules ridden by well-dressed, dripping Chinese, and heavy two-wheeled carts with rough, and equally wet Manchu drivers, struggling through freshly ploughed land to avoid the even deeper quagmires of the road. Big stone slabs, which once formed part of bridges, encumbered spots where the mud track plunged through water-courses. No vehicle except a Manchurian mule-cart would attempt to go forward at all, and even the mule-cart is often bogged. There is no other road in the country.



OUTSIDE THE CITY



A [illegible] OF MANCHURIAN MULES

CHAPTER XIII

AT MUKDEN

BETWEEN Liaoyang and Mukden the plain of rich cultivation grows wider and more open. The rugged hills recede to a horizon which becomes continually more distant upon either side, as one journeys northward. The houses about the railway stations are a little more systematically shattered than further south. Earthen mounds are piled high round the buildings which remain, to keep out stray Hunchus bullets. The fields are more thickly furrowed with shelter-trenches and more honeycombed with stake-pits. Drawing near to Mukden, one sees Russian forts with covered timbered-ways and barbed-wire entanglements, similar to those about Liaoyang. White, sail-covered stacks of military provisions make giant encampments about the railway stations of both Liaoyang and Mukden, but are being gradually depleted as the Japanese evacuation proceeds. Heaps of empty meat-tins mark the sites of deserted encampments. From time to time one sees recruits at drill; for the Japanese Government

is infusing the spirit of its veterans into the rising generation by withdrawing the men who went through the campaign and replacing them, for garrison purposes, with youngsters who enthusiastically study the sites of the battles.

The military staff officers at Mukden are in occupation of Russian-built bungalows near the railway station; but the administrative offices are in the heart of the city. A two-foot tramway with wooden packing-cases upon wheels for passenger cars, and big blue-coated Manchu coolies for motive power, connect the two. Each car takes one passenger, and the coolie, applying a sturdy shoulder, pushes behind—a leisurely and inexpensive form of transit which I saw nowhere else.

Mukden is a typical, walled Tartar city, with high stone-battlemented bastions, wide-arched gateways and steep-roofed watch-towers. Broad-hipped Manchu women, with dyed cheeks, and scores of small looking-glasses flashing in carefully braided hair, walk freely about the crowded streets upon natural-sized feet, which are a relief to the eye after the deformed misery of the Chinese women who tottered about the cities I had come from. Coarse-featured men, in wadded coats, crack cane whips over six-in-hand teams of fine mules which have to strain to pull rough country-carts out of the quagmires of the principal thoroughfare of the city. Loungers of various Mongolian types are to be seen in the crowd. Booths along the pavement are doing a thriving trade in every imaginable





article of necessity and adornment, from stout leather harness and iron cooking-pots to red umbrellas and long, black hair-queues.

I was indebted to the Japanese Administrator for a comfortable droshky with a fine Russian horse. My cab arrived with a broken spring from its struggle through the ruts. A second was found and conveyed me half-way across the city, only to be left bogged in the Piccadilly of the place. Eventually the inevitable, springless, blue-hooded Pekin mule-cart turned up, which proved able to negotiate even the Mukden roads. The appropriate official visits were duly paid, and a start effected towards the ancient tombs of the Ming dynasty of China. We toiled through a mile of moist, black dough, where the shopkeepers were busy filling up new-made ruts. We bumped with spine-dislocating crash from one big paving-stone to another, under the dark city gateway, and emerged outside on a Golgotha beset with odorous refuse and mangy country dogs. The road then climbed to a grassy down, where a bracing wind chased swaying masses of golden buttercups under a sky of blue broken by white masses of cloud. One filled one's lungs and stretched cramped muscles in the delicious warmth of direct sunbeams. Soon the downs gave place to sheltered coppice, where soft green newly-emerged hawthorn foliage was tinted with the swelling promise of white May-buds. Mistletoe hung nestlike in dark clusters from gnarled branches of frequent trees. Oak-leaves which had

not put off the brown tint of recent birth threw mottled shadows upon the way. Wild apricot and pear-trees nodded in the background. Bees busied themselves noisily over dandelions which had unaccustomed white, as well as familiar yellow flowers. Carved pillars and grotesque stone dragons, memorials of a dynasty departed, waited at regular intervals in the shade. Suddenly the way was paved with big square blocks. A stone balustrade stood on either side. In front, two Chinese lions grinned in sandstone, at the top of wide, paved steps which led through an elaborately carved stone gateway into the courtyard of the tombs themselves. A white cloud of wild carrot-flower obscured the lower steps, and clematis climbed over the side. Dry dandelion-heads scattered gossamer seedlets over fresh dock-leaves. Irises made purple spots between the stones and violets bloomed upon mossy banks, beneath Indian-red walls. The sun shone warm through invigorating air. The hum of bees, close at hand, mingled with the soft distant drone of cooing pigeons in the pine-trees and the deep grunt of frogs in fish-ponds not far off. The stiff little Japanese interpreter, who had guided me, remarked, sentimentally, that the place reminded him of his native land.

We entered through an elaborate archway, roofed with the glazed, yellow tiles I had seen before in the Forbidden City of Peking, and decorated in bas-relief with imperial, five-clawed dragons of rough brown

and green porcelain, which shaded into more precious blue. Within, a broad, straight, paved way was flecked with sunlight which fell through the matted branches of stunted pines. Beyond were the yellow pagoda-roofs of the tombs. The pines ended abruptly in an open space. On either side was a well-drilled company of giant lions, camels, and elephants in stone. An enormous stone cart-horse, with thick, hairy fetlocks, helped to keep guard. A gaily decorated, tiled pagoda held the first of the graves. Within its walls an immense stone tablet stood to attention upon a stone tortoise, the size of a hay-stack, and bore, in deep-cut Chinese hieroglyphics, the history of majesty buried below.

Chinese carpenters were sawing up timber a little further on. An old Chinese custodian tottered up from amongst them and demanded our passes. I surprised him, shortly afterwards, surreptitiously holding a measuring-rod against my back. To him I was a Russian, returned from the north. I felt a throb of perfectly unjustifiable gratification.

A few hours later I was back in the cramped, dirty bazars of the city, where the courtyards of the imperial palace draw the stranger within their walls. The Mings must have sheltered themselves, when they were alive, much worse than when they were dead. After the large-minded spaciousness of the tombs, the palace seemed insignificant and poor. Its interest centred in the relics of past dignity it

housed. Richly jewelled weapons, quaint carved red lacquer-ware and polished brass which had miraculously escaped the covetousness of contending armies, were brought out by brusque Chinese custodians, in prompt if ungracious obedience to the order I presented. I was shown weird coloured portraits of fierce, high-featured, Tsin emperors and mild, round-countenanced student Mings. I was taken over an inner library, where were long walls covered with shelves filled with enormous flexible books in yellow and red cloth binding, which contain the official history of the imperial dynasty. The volumes were in course of being removed to another part of the building, to make way for repairs. I met a procession of packets, each containing two books wrapped up carefully in Japanese piece-goods, staggering down the passage by which I entered. Each packet had four stalwart Chinese coolies toiling at it with thick bamboo carrying-pole. Each book would have covered a moderate sized dining-table when opened. Each, I was told, set forth the achievements of the reign of some one Ming or Tsin.

CHAPTER XIV

ACROSS SOUTH-EAST MANCHURIA

THE traveller in Manchuria expects conditions which, in Europe, would seem anomalous. The railways and the Japanese cantonments, for example, all make use of Tokyo time. The inhabitants of Mukden, in consequence, who go by the clocks, begin the day an hour earlier than the sun does. This luminary may not have set when they prepare to turn in for the night; the dawn may be still sleepy-eyed when they get up; but the arrangement has its advantages in a country where the needs of a man's life are summed up in obtaining food and warmth, and arriving at the end of the day's journey by daylight.

The first train in the day, on the field railway which the Japanese have hurried into existence across the mountain ranges separating Mukden from the western boundary of Korea, nominally starts soon after six o'clock. In consequence of the peculiarities of the time system, and the disproportion between the number of the passengers and the space available in the toy goods-trucks which do

duty for carriages, he must arise betimes who would travel to Antung otherwise than upon a goods wagon already filled with coal. I reached the point upon the muddy plain, which is the Mukden railway station, in what seemed to me the middle of the night; but a crowd was already besieging the train. I found four Japanese officers, a baby, five women, two soldiers, and twelve private gentlemen, all endeavouring to pack themselves and their not inconsiderable baggage into one luggage-van, which represented the first-class accommodation of the mail train that was about to start. When I added myself to the total we were twenty-six. The third-class passengers spread their wraps upon the top of the loose Mukden coal in the three open trucks behind us. A little engine was harnessed at one end and a guard's brake at the other, and we started gaily for Korea.

It is cold between night and morning in the May of Manchuria, and a tight squeeze was not an unpleasantly warm one, at least at first. Later on it was different, when the sun got up and the limitations of the two-foot six-inch gauge had had time to impress themselves. Rice sausages, loaded with sticky flavouring, bottles of Kerin beer, and steaming kettles of aromatic Japanese tea were handed in, over good-humoured heads, at the first wayside station; and I found myself in cheerful and hospitable comradeship. The officers immediately produced their visiting cards—have the Japanese borrowed this custom from the Americans, or did Commodore

Perry bring it back from Japan ?—and we exchanged these tributes with due ceremony. The twelve private gentlemen were more shy of introducing themselves in the presence of the ever-impressive military caste; but our company was permeated by a thoroughly good understanding. How impossible would have been such sociability in a railway carriage of India, where half of a parallel gathering would have resented sausages as unclean and the other half would have made the air unbearable with hubble-bubble smoke!

The line we were traversing is of the portable type which claims, as its main attraction, that it can be laid down quickly. It makes no pretence to be permanent. The bridges are of rough pine logs spiked together crazily. The embankments are of hastily thrown up and not yet consolidated sand and mud. The springs of the trucks are of a kind that the passenger remembers tenderly. The line was intended to feed General Kuroki's army in the long campaign that preceded the battle of Mukden; and well it fulfilled its purpose. It now serves as an alternative route between Japan and Northern Manchuria. The Tokyo authorities propose to convert it to the standard four-foot eight-inch gauge. In this case it will complete the main line connection between Korea and China, and fill up an important gap in the railway route that will eventually connect Fusan, in the south of Korea, with the Trans-Siberian line, and thus with Europe.

A few miles outside Mukden we crossed a narrow-

gauge feeder railway, which connects the Port Arthur track with the coal-mines of Middle Manchuria. Thence the route took us across the level plain towards the distant hills of the south-east. On the way we passed more entrenchments and wire-entanglements, part of the Russian lines around the city. The first thirty miles were through flat, open cultivation. Steep, grassy hills, with grey rocks in patches, then closed gradually in upon either side. For twenty miles thereafter the train travelled up a level valley of rich, ploughed land, averaging perhaps a dozen miles in breadth. This valley separates positions occupied by the Russians and the Japanese respectively throughout the whole of a long winter, when the contending armies lay opposite to one another in snow that was sometimes three feet deep. One of my fellow-travellers had served through the campaign with Kuroki's forces, and could point out ruined mud hovels in the plain, which he had seen taken and retaken, and tell how dear some of the Russian hilltops, which lined our horizon upon the left, had cost to obtain.

"The Russians were great diggers, but our men learnt, gradually, how to dig as well," he remarked, as mile after mile of red patches upon the bare, green slopes indicated to us where the Russians had thrown the ferruginous subsoil out of their timbered, shell-proof trenches. There was one low, rounded hill in particular, with a monument upon its summit, which my companion considered to have

been the centre of the fight that decided the fate of Mukden. Glasses and maps were brought out by all the officers, and eyes sparkled in the telling of how, after long days of costly failure, the guards stormed it in the night and made good their capture. *Àpropos* of this fight, the story was told me of certain newspaper correspondents with Kuroki's army whose coolness in the fighting had made an impression upon the Japanese. They were described to me as "tapfere Herren," who were upon captured heights with their note-books and pencils almost as soon as the Japanese got there with their rifles. My companion was unable to tell me their names, but described them as American. One felt an anonymous glow of satisfaction in these newspaper men for making themselves respected; for the attitude of contempt for our race, which is unpleasantly universal amongst the Chinese, is also, I have found, not unknown in Japanese circles, though here it peeps forth but seldom from behind a smiling mask of careful politeness.

As the morning broadened into day the hills on either side of us closed in and grew steeper and more rugged. A few oaks, wild-pear and ragged pine-trees appeared. The train climbed, jolting upwards along sandy shelves, on steep, slippery slopes, and over top-heavy log bridges from which we looked down into boulder-strewn river-beds far below.

"He should say his prayers who would travel by this line," said one of my cheery fellow-passengers; and this was a great joke, good-humouredly

translated into German for my benefit. Another effort, much applauded, reminded my companions of the swords with which they were to tackle Hunchus highwaymen who might infest the line. They were still unpleasantly active, it seemed, wherever the strong hand of the Japanese was not upon them.

The train stuck in a heavy cutting at the head of the valley, but eventually struggled, panting, over the watershed, and bumped with dangerous speed down the slope on the other side. The country now grew wilder. We found ourselves, presently, in a magnificent gorge with crags several hundred feet high. A trout-stream rippled amongst cream-coloured, marbled rocks and splashed over picturesque weirs to turn queer, horizontally-set wooden mill-wheels, with daylight showing between the spoke-like blades. A pagoda-roofed temple sat, complaisant, upon a peninsula of buff-coloured quartz. We saw weather-worn Manchu coffins, with sides of three-inch planks, set out upon the bare ground in cramped, sloped fields, in some cases entirely exposed, in others supporting a dome of earth, which covered only the lid and left sides and ends in view. Here the trees had multiplied into forest. Felled pine-trunks were piled in confusion upon each other in the stream-bed, at the bottom of steep slides, down which they had been precipitated to await a flood to carry them to a market. Green hawthorn-trees were bursting into snowy bloom. The call of a cuckoo gave the

silence a sentiment when we pulled up at a wayside station to water the engine. Everything was restful except the jarring train.

The coal-trucks were here transferred to a siding. We took on, in their place, heaped-up loads of loose beams and scantling, which threatened to pour devastatingly into our truck whenever the grade was down-hill. The little engine smothered us with coal-smoke; and the sun became a furnace under which we roasted in tightly packed layers. The baby definitely declined our united blandishments, and yelled continuously, for even a Japanese baby is human. A stout gentleman in a kimono snored upon my shoulder, and the narrow board that did duty for a seat developed aggressive angles. The five Japanese ladies piled themselves into a heap of shapeless misery at the far end of the truck; the five husbands held the baby by turns. Seven o'clock in the evening arrived at last, however; and the tired little train bustled punctually into the station of Gibatto, where we were to spend the night, after a good thirteen hours' run.

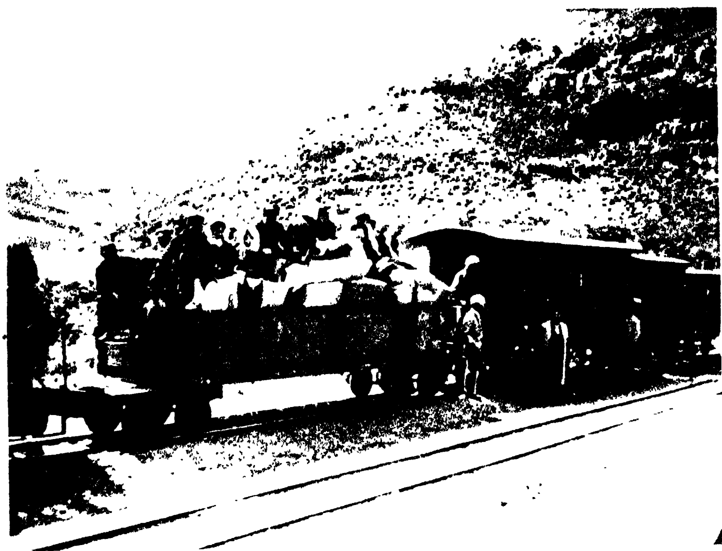
An iron-roofed shed with mat walls served as a Japanese inn. The charm of a capacious wooden boiler, with a hot stove-pipe running through it, was slightly impaired by the doubtless fully justified criticism of the twenty men, women, and children who turned up to watch my endeavours to tub in it without parboiling. The crowd got itself, afterwards, one by one, into the scalding interior, with apparent satisfaction and no false modesty what-

ever. I felt it was merely the eccentricity of the foreigner to object to publicity.

I was allowed to hire the best accommodation of the house. It consisted of a cupboard separated off by a partition of matting from the general apartment where the cooking of the establishment was done, and my fellow-passengers fed, smoked, and slept. The excellent boiled rice which was brought to my cupboard was heaped high in steaming plenitude in a housemaid's bucket. I experimented, also, upon a whole trayful of delicacies in little lacquer-ware bowls, including Japanese soup, dried fish, and novelties in mouth-wrinkling pickles. A warm, black cotton quilt and a yellow sheet which had seen service since the wash, but was not aggressive on that account, made a snug sleeping-place upon the floor.

Daylight saw us again in the train proceeding through broken country. Stools of Chinese oak, with young, yellow foliage, began to be prominent in the forest. In places there were sheer cliffs of rock a couple of hundred feet high. Twice the line crossed the watershed. "Bunsingling" was the name given by the Japanese officers to the principal pass. Trenches crept out upon the slopes; and I was told of heavy fighting that had taken place to secure possession of the ranges. The line rose, further on, by a series of long curves and zigzags, over a spur. From the summit one looked back upon what seemed like five sets of





separate railways, so much does the line double upon itself to obtain the necessary gradients in climbing up from below. A tunnel is to be constructed in this place when the expected conversion of the system to standard gauge takes place. In the afternoon we were in an open valley bounded on the east by jagged blue peaks, where Manchu villagers found asylum for many of their women during the campaign. The line of the Russian retreat, after the battle of the Yalu, was up in this valley; and we were able to trace the location of one of the lesser cavalry fights.

The sun was low, in a cold, grey sky as the train made its way into an open plain swept by the chill sea air of the port of Antung. Shadows settled over the rugged peaks we had been amongst. On one side of the line a big Manchu was hoeing in his field. On the other a fine team of six mules, harnessed in three pairs to a country cart, was standing in startled disorder, the attention of the animals fixed upon the train, regardless of the whip wherewith their lusty driver endeavoured to get them back into the track. A large-limbed peasant woman, with unbound feet, had turned unabashed to stare. Close by was an open shed, in which one could see two little women in butterfly obis, retailing green tea to Japanese soldiers—a gay stage scene in diminutive.

The train itself also repaid attention. Though on its way out of Manchuria, a land of oil-seeds and other produce that pay well to export,

its trucks were empty of goods. On the other hand, it contained a queerly assorted set of passengers. I stood upon the platform of a bogie truck. My refined little captain, with a language of Europe upon his lips, was on one side of me. On the other was a typical sergeant of infantry with round, bucolic features, who addressed his official superior familiarly across me, in Japanese, in the intervals of our talk. On the open truck immediately in front of us were Japanese veterans, on their way home at last from the long campaign, clasping their rifles, as if they loved them, against their long, black overcoats. In the next truck but one sat stout and comfortable Japanese traders, travelling to Japan to buy a second or a third instalment of manufactured goods for sale in the still nominally unopened markets of Mukden. Further up squatted Manchu Chinese, one of them with pendulous lips wrapped around the ragged edges of a tin of sugared chestnuts, shared with him by his neighbour, a hospitable Japanese recruit.

The Japanese affects to despise the Manchurian because he thinks him a coward; but in ordinary life the two races get on pleasantly together. The Manchurian holds his own. I have seen in his case none of the personal contempt with which low-class Japanese too often treat the Korean.

The military rest-house at Antung, where I spent the night, was typical of its kind in Manchuria. It was a one-storied house, built originally to accommodate a Chinese official. Its paper windows faced

into the paved courtyard, which was guarded by a stout wooden gate. Fireplaces in the outside walls suggested possibility of warmth within. A yellow-capped Japanese soldier looked after me. He had been selected for this duty on the ground of knowing some English, which enabled him hospitably, but quite without reason, to lament his inability "to welcome properly."

I learnt before the morning something of the etiquette of a Japanese officers' mess, and was initiated into the ceremonial of its rice and pickle dinner, served on lacquer-ware, eaten with chopsticks, and washed down with tiny cups of green tea. We were travelling under field-service conditions, so I was able to study the neatness and efficiency of the officer's kit, which weighs, including bedding, only forty pounds. I was shown besides the capacious overcoat, and the platinum rice-boiler which make each individual Japanese soldier almost independent of transport, for at least three days at a time, wherever water and firewood can be procured. This equipment is not brought out upon stated occasions only, but is in everyday use by both officers and men. It is thus under continual test. Deficiencies and defects are not left to be discovered upon service, when they cannot be easily rectified. Economy and simple efficiency are kept up, which contrast sharply with the luxury in cantonments and elaboration upon the march which obtain amongst most white troops.

Officers in uniform who had risen at dawn to

speed their parting comrades and guest, made formal salutes and shouted carefully framed sentences of kindly good wishes, in broken English, as we clattered out of the courtyard of the rest-house next morning. The route lay through sleeping shanties, to the low river-bank which bounds the harbour. The neighbourhood was not attractive. Shallow water a mile wide gleamed cold in the grey twilight. A small Japanese steamer was waking up in midstream. Along the bank slept a collection of native river craft, the broad sails lowered upon deck, the masts a forest of rough brown timber. Acres of warehouses with grey corrugated iron roofs, sail-covered mounds of army stores, black heaps of coal from Chen-wang-tao, and disordered stacks of squared timber were dotted along the marshy shore; for Antung has not forgotten that it was the principal base of the Japanese armies throughout the war. A ferry-boat, propelled with the broken-backed oars of the Inland Sea, carried us to Korean territory across the river, where a grown-up train was busily shunting. Only five miles up-stream was the battlefield of the Yalu, where the Japanese fought their first serious engagement; but I had not time to visit it. A sharp scramble over timber which had floated from the now confiscated Russian concession up-country, a race for the platform, and I had barely caught the train which plies along the brand-new Japanese railway to Seoul. Manchuria was behind and Korea before me.

CHAPTER XV

DIFFICULTIES IN KOREA

I BEGAN my first day's journey through Korea by falling soundly asleep in what, after two days in a truck on a half-built military railway in Manchuria, appeared to me exquisite luxury. This was the white-wood, American-built, third-class corridor car that I found waiting for passengers on the Korean side of the Yalu river.

The Japanese built the Korean line hurriedly, during the war. They imported half of the labour from Japan, and forced the Koreans to supply the other half upon pay which seems to have been sometimes far from adequate. The track traverses the entire length of Korea, from Antung, on the Manchurian border, in the north, to Fusan, on the straits of Tsushima, in the south. Midway it passes through Seoul, where a short American-built line connects it with the port of Chemulpo. The southern section, between Fusan and Seoul, is in full working order. It has substantial girder-bridges and well-laid permanent-way. The northern half, between Seoul and Antung, is

being rapidly improved, but has reached at present only to the stage where trains must run slowly by day and not at all at night. Shaky log bridges are still in use, but are being replaced everywhere by steel and stone of modern pattern.

The Japanese have good reason to be proud of the undertaking. They have had the courage to adopt the standard four-foot eight-inch gauge, thereby assimilating it with the Chinese lines which it will ultimately join, but rendering it altogether different from their own system in Japan, which is still upon the now inadequate metre gauge. Their action in this matter is the more enterprising since shortage of broad-gauge rolling stock at the time of the war compelled them to incur the enormous labour and expense of reducing to narrow gauge the Russian-built line between Port Arthur and Mukden. This they must now undo, for they have no intention of allowing any narrow-gauge section in Manchuria to interpose between the standard-gauge lines of China upon one side and those of Korea upon the other.

Two formidable rivers, the Yalu and the Liao-ho, will have to be bridged before the long-dreamt-of through line from Peking to Fusan will become a reality. Japan's object is plain, and there can be no question either of her ability or her determination to carry it into effect without much delay. It is to bring the South China market for Osaka piece-goods, and the Mid-China ore supply, which is required for the Kiusiu steel works, into connection with Fusan without break of bulk. Fusan is but

half a short day's sail from large harbours upon the Japanese coast. Japan looks forward to sending her own manufactured goods by rail to Peking, and thence throughout the length and breadth of China as far south as Canton, for Canton is certain to be connected by rail with Hankow, and thus with Peking, some day. In this case she will succeed to a position in the markets of China even more commanding than that occupied there by Russia prior to the war. And railways which carry goods can be used, in case of need, for troops.

Japan sees no reason why her commercial development in China should not be peaceful. She sees, also, that the stronger her strategical position there, the less likely are other nations to interfere with her plans. For the time being Japan is in league with Great Britain and the United States to maintain the integrity of Chinese territory, since the longer China can be kept intact the more firmly will Japan be able to establish herself in a position superior to that occupied by any other nation in the Far East. She can afford to wait. It is easy to understand, under these circumstances, the efforts which Russian diplomacy is making to further the pushing forward, from the Trans-Siberian Railway, of an independent branch line to connect with Peking by way of Kalgan. The weight of Germany's influence is with Russia in this matter, for Germany sees that at present her own schemes of development from her base at Tsingtao are in check, and that Russia can be used as a counterpoise to Japan,

The Korean railway is a monument to the organising and constructive ability of the Japanese people. Unlike most of the trunk lines in Japan, it was both financed and built without the intervention of either a foreign board of directors or of foreign engineers. The engines and the cars which I saw upon it were of American make. The signals and the notices regarding them are English, but the engineering and traffic management are entirely Japanese. The trains run punctually and smoothly, and are attracting large Korean, as well as Japanese, traffic. The undertaking presents a concrete example of Japanese success in a class of enterprise in which, up to the present, the Chinese have failed signally.

I enquired somewhat particularly into various branches of the organisation. My observations lead me to believe that the staffs of officials at the stations are distinctly larger and somewhat more costly, upon the whole, in spite of the low pay of individual employees, than would be the case on a line worked by Europeans or Americans. Mistakes have been made in taking Koreans from their fields, to compulsory labour upon the line at seasons of maximum agricultural activity, when the exercise of forethought, in giving out the railway contracts earlier, would have enabled the work to be accomplished more quickly and with less friction. The Japanese complain of the Korean labourer as lazy and inefficient. The retort is made, on behalf of the Korean, that the Japanese have neither the

temper nor the capacity to handle alien labour economically. It must be added that the organisation of the railway services is efficient. I was especially struck by the completeness of the police arrangements and the excellence of the working of such conveniences as telephone communication between the stations. A small constable pounced inevitably upon me and inquired concernedly after my permits if I allowed myself the relaxation of a stroll upon any wayside platform where the train drew up ; and my companions were able to arrange by telephone, from Anju, for the forwarding of luggage left behind upon the Yalu river.

The indigenous passengers to be met with upon the Manchurian lines were few, and the trains were packed with Japanese ; but the car which I entered at Wiju, on the frontier, was crowded with Koreans ; the Japanese constituted only a small minority. The Korean is a fine, upstanding individual, who enhances the distinction of his appearance by some of the most wonderful conceivable clothes. From his feet to his neck his garments are white. His feet are covered by short, thick, snowy cotton socks with pointed, open-worked, straw slippers. The remainder of his ample person is enveloped in a long, loose flowing coat. His yellow hands and face and his black hats—for he wears two head-covers at the same time, one on the top of the other—make the only colour marks upon him.

Korean hats are a study in themselves. The couple worn by the ordinary father of a family, when not

in mourning, are both constructed of open-worked horse-hair. The one that is put on first is dome-shaped, with a depression in the front of the top. It is not unlike what a Bombay Parsee's cap would be if it were made of gauze-netting and worn with the front behind, and is obviously the ancestor of the black head-dress of the Daimyo which is to be seen in many an old Japanese print. The outer hat is a combination of a bird-cage and a Welsh-woman's national head-gear. It may, for aught I know, also have claims to be the original of the British top-hat. It fits over the first, like a thimble on a finger, but both are so transparent that the top-knot of black hair, which indicates that a man is married, can be seen lying within them, like a chop in a meat-safe. The bachelor's locks are not done into a top-knot, but are allowed to flow. Until he is married, therefore, a man wears, instead of the dome-shaped underhat, only a broad band of black, plaited horse hair, intended to restrain his tresses from getting into his eyes and to prevent the outside structure from galling his forehead. My fellow-passengers included Korean officials, whose national hats were adorned with black gauze flaps and peaks, which turned them into miniature pagodas. In one corner of the car sat an individual whose father had died less than a year previously. He wore a white cottage-thatch, a yard across, his eyes looking out of a gable in front. The Korean, it seems, believes that Heaven must be displeased with the man who suffers be-

reavement, else why, he asks, should it deprive him of a relative? He hides himself, therefore, for twelve months, from the sky, beneath an enormous hat, which is white, to indicate his sorrow. A second mourner was of older standing. He wore a white topee which approached in shape to that of ordinary Korean life. The wearer, in this case, was supposed to be approaching readmission to celestial favour.

On the seat in front of me, was a Korean woman, in homely voluminous white petticoat, the first of its kind I had seen worn by any Eastern female. Her head was bound not unbecomingly in a large white handkerchief. A short, white jacket, with long, close-fitting sleeves, covered up precisely that portion of her person which a European lady thinks fit to expose in a ballroom, but left bare some inches of smooth, yellow anatomy immediately below. Slung in cramped sitting posture upon her back, in a clean sheet knotted over her sturdy shoulders, was a fine, black-haired, tawny-skinned baby, which purred good-temperedly so long as the mother thumped it rhythmically behind; for the blows, though seemingly severe, meant that it was not forgotten. The father, like every other Korean in the car, including the woman but excluding the baby, smoked a long tobacco-pipe. An assortment of white packages hung from his waistbelt.

The Korean differs from the Japanese in washing his clothes rather than his person. He is a pleasant-tempered, easy-going fellow. His courtesy,

the petticoats of his women, and his own top-hats all seemed to me originals, beside which the corresponding articles of the European were but pretentious derivations. A smart little English-speaking Japanese gentleman, who had discovered and befriended me upon the train insisted, for my edification, upon exchanging his own black frock-coat and bowler-hat for the flowing white robes of a Korean lad alongside. The temporary barter having been effected and the garments donned, he demanded of me whether I found him a Japanese or a Korean. There was but one answer possible. The big Korean and the little Japanese had changed themselves effectually into one another. Had I not seen the transformation I should never have suspected its possibility, for nothing could have been more unlike than the two individuals in their respective national costumes. The resemblance in features and expression is real enough to justify the well-worn statement that one must hit a Korean before one can be sure he is not a Japanese. The Korean apologises; the Japanese hits back. My Japanese friend, in this instance, was an enlightened member of his race. His friendly playfulness towards his Korean fellow-traveller made pleasant contrast to what I saw later on; for it is unfortunately true that patience and self-restraint, in dealing with a subject people, is not characteristic of the Japanese who are now in Korea.

The wide plains and rugged gorges of Manchuria change, almost as soon as the border is passed, into

cenery which might be that of a Japan under misfortune. Green velvet patches of seedling rice are dotted over a brown, watery swamp, on either side of the raised railway embankment. Strong, straight-backed cattle take the place of Chinese mules. Green kopjes hem in the view, and differ from those of the northern shore of the Inland Sea, chiefly in being neglected and bare instead of covered, as in Japan, with carefully planted trees. Frequent villages of squalid shanties flit past the windows. One is constantly tempted to consider how easily, given national security and public confidence, these structures would grow into the pleasant homesteads with their Noah's-ark gardens, that are one of the happiest features of Hondo.

Chinese influence upon the architecture presented itself in the shape of chimneys connecting with the flues beneath the floors, which had somewhat ineffectually warmed my slumbers at Antung. These chimneys are sufficiently remarkable. They look as if they were constructed of packing-case boards, bound round with hay-bands. I was told that this seemingly dangerous arrangement is less liable to produce conflagrations than it appears, since the chimney is the direct outlet, not of the fireplace itself, but only of a series of horizontal brick passages which conduct the smoke beneath the dwelling-rooms, from a fireplace at the other side of the building. The system makes the Korean shanty one of the warmest places imaginable upon a cold winter's night. The rooms are ovens, capable of

being heated to any temperature that the fuel-supply will allow. The reason my oven at Antung was disappointing was because the fire was out! The Russians took advantage of the inflammable nature of the roofs to destroy the villages upon the line of their retreat. I have heard this measure criticised by Japanese officers on the ground that it inflicted unnecessary hardship upon the people, since the houses held little or nothing that was of assistance to the pursuing Japanese troops.

Now and again we passed crowds of the inhabitants, assembled apparently with no other object than to see the train go by. A large proportion were women, the balance equally idle men. All looked clean and well-fed. All were attired in white, sharply punctuated by the black hats of the men. Along the rivers that we crossed clothes-washing could be seen in active operation. The industry takes up so much of the energies of the people that the Japanese are bringing pressure to bear to restrict the wearing of white, for they imagine that the Korean might do more work if he were not engaged so perpetually in washing his garments.

The Peking road, the one track in the country which can claim to be a highway, was visible occasionally. It runs, more or less parallel to the railway, from one end of Korea to the other. The Japanese improved it at the time of the war, to enable artillery to proceed along it; but its present condition is poor. I was told by men who have

used it recently that many of its bridges are still of the Korean type, which means that they are dismantled every rainy season and piled upon the banks to remain unutilised until the floods subside. Loaded carts are left stuck in it for months waiting for the surface of the soil to dry sufficiently to enable them to be extricated. In the summer the road is sometimes a foot deep in dust.

Half-way to Seoul, beneath the battlemented walls of an old Korean city, I saw the location of the first fight of the war. The engagement was between Japanese infantry and raiding Russian cavalry. It was these Russians who burnt the Korean villages so ruthlessly as they retreated. To-day, however, the Korean hates the Japanese far more bitterly than ever he hated the other invader.

The train pulled up for the night outside the city of Pingyang. The land on which the railway station is situated is of considerable value, and the taking of it up has been quoted to me by members of the anti-Japanese party in Korea as a typical example of the high-handedness of their new masters. A number of Koreans were evicted from their houses with little ceremony and less compensation. Much hardship was caused and friction was increased by the action of individual Japanese immigrants, who were allowed to add to the confusion by confiscating property upon their own account. In the disorder that arose, the Koreans complain that neither justice nor protection was extended to them. It

was only reasonable that the Japanese should take up the land. The railway is the single reliable means of locomotion in the country, and the surroundings of its stations are certain to become valuable. It is not unfair that the increment should be appropriated by those who had the enterprise to build the line. As to the methods adopted, much may be forgiven of a people engaged, as the Japanese were, in a life-and-death struggle with a great Power; but it cannot be denied that mismanagement occurred, and that steps which might have been taken later on to restore confidence were unduly postponed.

Pingyang is a typical Korean city. Its streets, though narrow, are far wider and cleaner than those of native Canton and Shanghai. It has fine old stone gateways and bastions which recall the architecture of China; but its one-storied houses and its inhabitants remind one at every step, of Japan. It is located upon high ground, on the bank of one of the numerous rivers of clear, rippling water, which are as noticeable a feature of Korea as of Japan. I found the barley crop which, three days earlier at Mukden, had been but just above the ground, already in Korea ripe for the harvest. The cold wind of the north had given place to. warm, balmy breezes. The people lack the stimulating atmosphere which has fostered the hardy Manchu.

The train reaches Seoul on the evening of the second day after leaving the Yalu. It halts at the

capital for the night. The following daylight hours carry it right through to Fusan. On the way it traverses some difficult country. The Diamond Mountains, which shut off the people of the south of the peninsula from those of the north, are passed in the afternoon of the final day. Here are a number of troublesome tunnels which afford a good example of Japanese engineering skill. The mountain range, until the railway came, was so hard of passage that it created an ethnological parting which is apparent to-day in the fact that the inhabitants, on one side, approximate to those of Japan, and on the other have closer relations with Central Asia and China. The range is a dividing line no longer.

At the moment, Korea is in a critical position. In every locality that I halted at, traversing the country from the north to the south, I heard similar testimony. All of it tended to show that the Japanese have made a most unfortunate start with their administration of the country. In Seoul I looked into carved wooden chambers in the deserted North Palace, where the queen of the present Emperor of Korea was murdered, one night fourteen years ago, by members of the Japanese party, including police. Purple irises have blossomed, season after season, since then, in the shadow of the royal seven-clawed dragons of the pagoda-roofed structure. Seedling pines in the shrubbery behind, have pushed up into trees, as the Emperor's sons have grown into manhood; but the pillared dancing-hall

has stood deserted, the royal fish-ponds are choked with weeds, and the cane-bucket of the old stone well in the garden has hung unused. The Emperor has refused to return to his violated house. The hundred yellow cardboard rooms of the dead Queen's quarters are still in the disorder in which they were left on the night of the murder. The brown stain of royal blood upon the floor has not been washed out.

It might have been supposed that, in fourteen years, the Japanese would have lived down or worked out the memory of this unfortunate incident: but they have not. The Korean considers that what has since happened is entirely in keeping with the beginning. The European in Korea is only one degree less despondent, though, unlike the Korean, he is prepared to make allowance. The Japanese soldier in the field has proved himself considerate and merciful as well as brave and efficient; but the same cannot be said of the Japanese proletariat in Korea. Assaults by Japanese upon both Koreans and Europeans have been unfortunately frequent. In such cases as the one which occurred the day before I reached Seoul, where the Catholic bishop was mishandled in his own cathedral by Japanese soldiers in uniform, the offenders were identified and redress has been obtained; but this seems to have been the exception rather than the rule. I do not attach importance to isolated instances of the cuffing of Koreans by Japanese which I myself witnessed, though the



spirit thus accidentally betrayed made a very unfavourable impression upon me at the time. What I saw was confined to the lower orders of each people; and I had no means of ascertaining the nature of the provocation given. It would be foolish, however, to overlook the opinion which I found general amongst merchants, missionaries, and other Europeans resident in the country, and which was expressed to me with varying degree of reservation, according as the sympathies of the individual were for or against the Japanese. The few Koreans I talked with were unable to restrain the violence of their antipathy to the ruling race.

A story was told me by a European resident of Tokyo, who happened to be visiting Korea at the same time as myself, which illustrates the *naïveté* of the Korean's attitude of disapproval. At an official dinner party in Seoul the European found himself seated next to a highly educated Korean official, who spoke English fluently. The Korean conversed freely and pleasantly upon every topic that came up until the fact emerged that his neighbour spent most of his time in Japan. His tone then changed abruptly. He said stiffly that he could not understand how any one could live in the country belonging to such a people, and then, to further show his displeasure, turned his back upon the European and did not say another word to him throughout the remainder of the evening.

Japan is accused of breaking faith in this country and in Manchuria with the European

Powers. By treaty, she is bound to respect local autonomy, and to give foreigners the same opportunity in conducting trade and in exploiting the mineral resources as her own subjects enjoy. I have been told by men whose honesty cannot be doubted that this is not being done. European and American merchants and mining engineers find their operations hampered in many ways. The popular party in Japan, who hold that the conquered territory, having been won by Japanese blood, should be administrated to Japanese advantage alone, have enthusiastic supporters in the military element upon the spot. Systematic attempts, of an official nature, have been made to push on Japanese enterprise of every kind to the detriment of the foreigner. The Japanese control practically the whole of the railways throughout Korea and Manchuria. They threw these open to their own people months before they allowed foreigners to make use of them. Godowns in Shanghai are overflowing with British and American manufactured articles awaiting access to the region under Japanese influence. European prospectors have been denied access to the interior, while a shipload of mining engineers, in the employ of the Japanese authorities, has been allowed to proceed inland. New mining rules unfavourable to outsiders are being drafted. The provisions of the customs, which guarantee equality of treatment to all alike, are being respected; but their spirit is alleged to have suffered violence since the Japanese relieved

Mr. McLeavy Brown, the member of Sir Robert Hart's capable staff, who was previously in charge.

There is something to be said in palliation of the view taken by the Japanese popular party. It is impossible to deny that a nation, which has made the great sacrifices of Japan, has acquired moral, if not treaty, rights of a very far-reaching kind in the territories concerned. The existence of a campaign of calumny against Japan, organised by corrupt Korean officialdom which sees itself superseded, must also be taken into account. When all allowances have been made, however, there remains a situation which is certainly open to criticism.

It is necessary to add that since the arrival of Marquis Ito, as administrator at Seoul, the Japanese attitude in Korea has been modified. Marquis Ito, veteran as he is, is still the ablest man that Japan possesses, and he recognises that his countrymen have gone too far. He professes the absolute and, I believe, entirely sincere determination to hold Japan to the spirit as well as to the letter of the treaties by which she is bound; but he is committed to no simple task. His view is in opposition to popular sentiment, alike in the army of occupation in Korea and amongst the general public in Japan. Already there has been some friction with the military authorities in Seoul, who are being superseded by civilians. The Japanese Government have decided, however, to support Marquis Ito, whose policy is to govern Korea by and through the existing Korean Government, and to retain in

Manchuria only that control of the railways, coal-mines, and lumber concessions which belongs to Japan by treaty. Marquis Ito insists upon two things: first, that the Korean Government shall act honestly and obey him in all things; and second, that the Chinese administration in Manchuria shall afford adequate protection to life and property. This leaves Japan a wide margin for action. It may be anticipated that the attitude of the official on the spot will be scrupulously correct; but one is forced to the cynical conclusion that foreign traders would be unwise to suppose, on this account, that their own prospects will change, without external pressure, very materially for the better.

CHAPTER XVI

THE FUTURE OF KOREA

ALMOST any experienced Anglo-Indian administrator, who had not been a conspicuous failure in his own province, could make Korea into a fairly prosperous and contented country in ten years, if he were placed in charge and given a free hand. Japanese statesmen may take thirty years and some fighting to do the same thing; but they will succeed in the end.

The land, though not so rich as in many parts of China, is able to support a very much larger population than is now upon it. Wide areas are capable of profitable irrigation. Gold and other valuable minerals exist in paying quantity. The bare hills, so often described as worthless, are no more sterile than are the almost exactly identical formations in Japan, where the energy of the administration has covered them with profitable forests. The Korean is improvident and lazy only because he has been systematically robbed, for many generations, of all margin over bare sustenance that he may scrape together. His manly qualities have disappeared

under continued oppression. The white engineers who direct the large and profitable gold-mining industry, established by an American company to the north of Pingyang, have discovered that the Korean labourer makes one of the best miners in the world. Experts upon the spot have told me that, upon the average, taking a six-months' spell as a test, two ordinary Korean miners, upon a shilling a day apiece, are slightly superior, in working efficiency, to one Cornish or Californian pitman on eight times this pay. Korean labour mining thus costs, when tactfully handled, only a quarter of European. The Korean workman, however, requires to be humoured, and this the Japanese have not yet perceived to their profit.

A Japanese coal-mine owner in Kiusiu gave me particulars of an experiment tried two years ago in that island, of importing two hundred Koreans as miners. He declared that the trial had proved the Korean a failure. Only half a dozen of the batch remain upon the mine; and no more are being imported. The pay appears to have been reasonable, and the treatment not unkindly; but the men would not stand the restrictions which were imposed upon their liberty. They deserted because the management insisted upon requiring them to work regularly for the full daily spell of eight hours which had been adopted in the mine to suit the Japanese pitman. Rather than change this arrangement, the Japanese directors gave up the experiment, and went back to an exclusively Japanese labour force. This rigidity

is characteristic of their experiment in more than one direction, and it will take time to induce them to abandon it. Sympathy with other races is the slowest growth in the world, and the Japanese is peculiarly without it.

The experience of most European employers of labour in Korea and that of certain white planters in Hawaii, who have imported Korean labour to work upon their estates, is totally different. It is significant, also, that in constructing the main railway through Korea, the Japanese themselves have employed a continually increasing proportion of Koreans, more Koreans and fewer Japanese being taken on as the work progressed. Europeans in Korea, who have utilised Koreans as watchmen, and inspired them with confidence that they would be supported in the discharge of their duties, have been able to tell me of Japanese and other marauders tackled and disarmed, though outnumbering the Korean custodians.

Japanese officers, on the other hand, say that, in their experience, whenever Korean police are sent against Hunchuses they show the white feather, the Korean officers often setting the example to their men in running away from the enemy. The Japanese coolie thinks nothing of hitting a Korean to make him get out of the way in the street, being confident that there will be no retaliation. This state of things arises far more from past oppression than from present physical fear. The Korean is a coward, not because he is incapable of courage, but

because he has learnt, by bitter and long-extended experience, that no justice will be given him by his rulers. He accepts insult and injury lest a worse thing befall him. The laziness for which he is famous also admits of some explanation. Until the Japanese arrived in Korea no private rights in immovable property were recognised by the local officials. The possession of wealth had become undesirable, since all it could do for the owner was to subject him to the rapacity of the tax-gatherer. The system of forced labour taught the labourer to dawdle. The ordinary incentives to industry and thrift, obtaining elsewhere throughout the world, were absent. The Korean became thriftless, idle, and cowardly because there was no reward for providence, industry, or courage. The present is but the natural sequel to the past; but this does not show that nothing better is possible in the future. The easy-going Korean is as able to become manly as the once cowardly Egyptian cultivator has proved capable of conversion into the soldier who stood firm before his former conqueror at Omdurman.

There is no lack of material. Nothing struck me so much, in going through Korea, as the crowds of fine men and women I saw standing about in this inherited idleness. The Korean is strong-bodied, pleasant-mannered, and good-tempered. He wants but right handling to prosper. Missionaries who have lived long in the interior tell me they have found no sneak-thieving. Crimes of violence

are rare. European women and children can travel across country, attended only by their chair-coolies, without fear of violence or insult. The Korean official is hopelessly corrupt and inefficient, but his rule has seldom been questioned seriously. Moreover, this mild-mannered people are loyally attached to their pathetic Emperor, and do not lay their misfortunes to the blame of his ridiculous Court.

A new era has now commenced, though cautiously. Marquis Ito's official position is that merely of adviser to the Korean Government, and nominally the Korean Emperor and his Korean ministers continue to rule. Practically, the Japanese control everything and exercise all real authority. To get permission in Seoul even to collect turf for one's garden, one must obtain Japanese, not Korean, consent. Not one penny of the revenue that filters into the public treasury can be spent without Japanese sanction. A Japanese financial officer has been appointed to see to this matter. He is getting together assistants, nominally to help the Korean officials to collect the taxes, really to control them absolutely. Japanese police officers have been lent to the Korean Government and are exercising influence over the district administration. The Korean system that is being displaced is rotten from the top to the bottom, and now that opportunity to squeeze the people is taken away from the officials, the fact has become apparent that these latter have no sufficient means of support. The ebbing of the

fiscal tide has left them high and dry, a new and embarrassing class of State paupers.

Intrigue is afoot in Seoul with every foreign power that will condescend to lend its sympathies to the helpless Korean Court. Local insurrections have become common throughout the country, and the Japanese accuse the Korean officials of fomenting them. The evicted bureaucrat hates with a bitter hatred the people who are taking from him his cherished power and means of livelihood, and is no doubt rousing whatever is capable of being roused in the minds of his humbler fellow-countrymen, who have also their own grievances against their new masters. Under Korean rule, the ordinary insurrection was a very mild affair. It occurred on the frequent occasions when exactions exceeded what local opinion would tolerate, beginning with the assemblage of a noisy mob outside the yamen concerned, and ending, as a rule, with the hasty flight of the official whose squeezes had become unbearable. Ordinary people continued their avocations. I have heard of European ladies being carried in their chairs, without mishap, through the ranks of an insurgent gathering that blocked their way. These risings are now more formidable, and there has been some loss of life in putting them down; but the Japanese power is overwhelming, and nothing in the country can challenge it seriously.

The Japanese programme is definite. The Korean courts of justice are notoriously unsatisfactory. Bribery and corruption are rampant; and

this is necessarily the first matter to be attended to. As an initial step Marquis Ito proposes to set up a new High Court in Seoul for the trial of appeals from the Japanese consular courts. These consular courts are located in the principal commercial centres, having been established, when Korea was still independent, for the trial of cases in which Japanese subjects were concerned. An appeal from these lay to the Japanese court at Nagasaki. The new court at Seoul therefore replaces the Nagasaki tribunal, and will entertain, at first, only cases in which Japanese are concerned. Eventually, Marquis Ito hopes to extend its jurisdiction to all appeals, from the decisions of the local Korean courts, as well as from the consular courts, irrespective of whether the parties are Japanese or Koreans. The local Korean courts are to continue to exist beside the Japanese consular courts in the hope that this may teach them to emulate the imported probity. But Japanese expectation of improving Korean justice by means of precept and example is not likely to be fulfilled until sufficient pay is given to the Korean judges to raise them above temptation to be corrupt. This is a matter which the Japanese are considering, but on which they had taken no action up to the time I left Seoul. Subjects of the European powers, resident in Korea, will continue to be tried by their own consuls.

In regard to education and police reform Japan is resorting to the expedient of lending Japanese

officers to the Korean Government. In other words, Japanese are being put in to exercise control and to introduce Japanese methods. Long ago, the Korean Emperor ordered all his subjects to send their children to school under pain of his royal displeasure; but little else was done. There were hardly any schools in existence, so compliance was impossible. The Japanese are endeavouring to remedy this by starting schools in the principal centres. Japanese schoolmasters, of a kind, are fairly cheap. They will teach the Japanese language, if nothing else. Their distribution over the country is desirable, even if their object be rather to Japanise the people than to instruct them in general knowledge. Everywhere they will stand for order. Everywhere they will represent Japanese interests, report sedition to headquarters and be points from which the influence of Tokyo will radiate. This is to the interest of the Koreans, for their fate is now bound up with that of Japan. Promises of autonomy are only misleading, and the sooner the people recognise that the old order has disappeared the more likely are they to settle down into good citizens under the new.

The Japanese police officers will be similarly useful. They are certain to be more honest than the Korean officials. They may not be altogether mild or always considerate in their methods; but the Koreans will find that the protection they will afford is real, and that rogues have more reason to dread them than have respectable citizens. A

useful proclamation has been issued declaring that private ownership in immovable property is to be recognised. This no doubt will be taken to heart by predatory Japanese immigrants, as well as by Korean officials whose ideas of the rights of private property are also confused.

Progress is being made, meanwhile, with the development of the material resources of the country. The Japanese have lent to Korea a considerable sum of money for public works, upon terms which I heard criticised in Seoul as more onerous than the state of the unofficial money market justifies, the security being the excellent one of the practically unmortgaged Korean customs. This money is being laid out by Japanese engineers upon improving the harbours and other works. The primary object is to help the Japanese trader, but obviously and no less surely, it will benefit Korea. The money spent upon the fine Japanese military railway, from Fusan to Antung, which I have had occasion to refer to so often, is to be refunded to Japan out of the amount. Undoubtedly the line is one of the greatest boons that has ever been conferred upon the country. It would be cheap to the inhabitants at almost any cost; and, as far as I could ascertain, after making allowances for Korean complaints against Japanese methods in connection with the taking up of land for its construction, the cost is by no means unreasonable. The roads and irrigation works, that are so badly wanted to increase the prosperity of

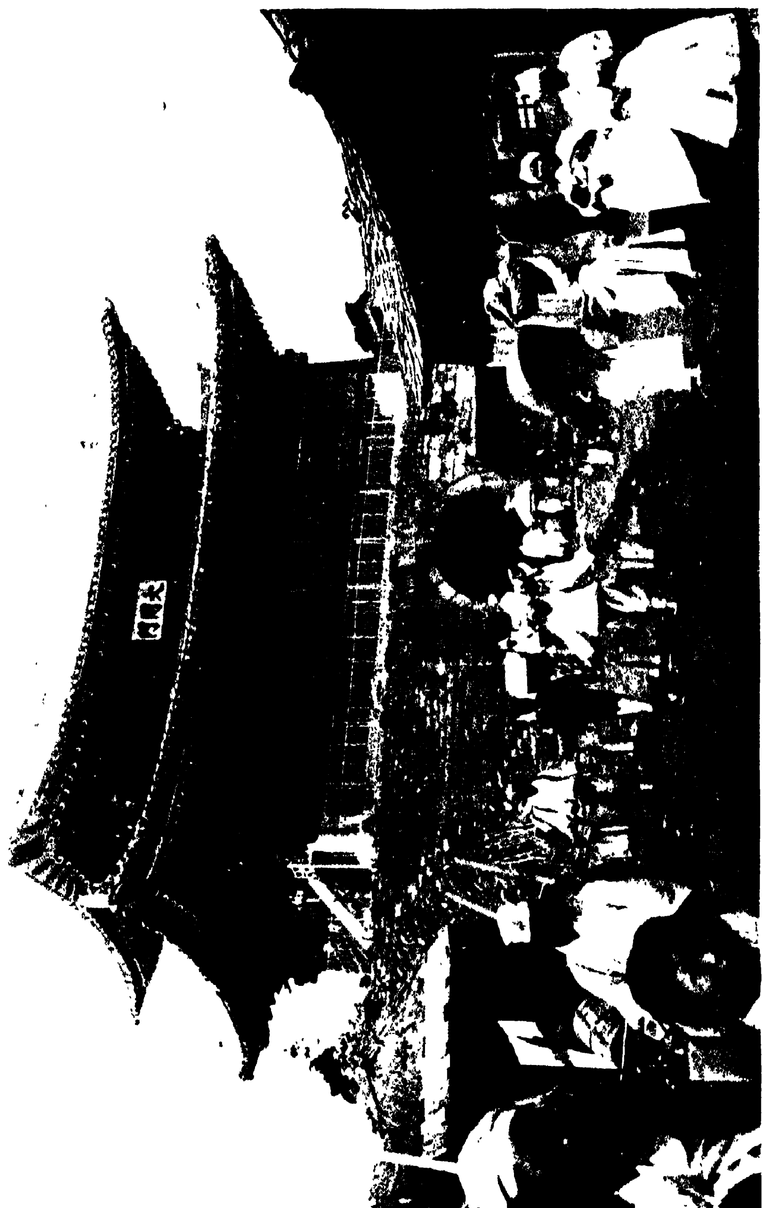
the country, are certain to be supplied eventually under Japanese rule. The planting up of the barren hill-sides is another matter upon which the new administrators have an eye.

This brief account of the situation which exists in Korea would not be complete without some further reference to Marquis Ito, who stands for justice to the Korean. The Marquis had gone to Japan, to discuss the situation with the central Government, just before I reached Seoul. It was not until I arrived at Tokyo, therefore, that I had an opportunity of meeting him. I found him eventually in an unpretentious, two-storied villa on a small hill overlooking the capital of his country. I was shown into a cheerful room which was carpeted and furnished in ordinary European style, but relieved from banality by a single giant spray of pink and white peony arranged with dainty lightness in the full cross-light of two big windows. A solidly built Japanese gentleman, in European frock-coat, with a small red and white-rayed button in the lappet, walked in briskly. At the moment I was chiefly aware of a pair of somewhat dimmed brown eyes, with typical Japanese lids, beneath a wide, domed forehead surmounted with closely brushed grey hair. As we talked the external marks of personality faded and two very un-Oriental characteristics took their place—simplicity and straightness. I saw an Ito grown old, but as full of energy and confidence as the boy he was when he smuggled himself aboard

an outward-bound ship on the quest of what Europe could teach Japan. I saw a man, whose quiet voice and gentle manner inspired confidence in the rectitude of the resolve of the Japanese leaders to comply with the self-denying conditions to which they have agreed. The discussion ranged over the whole field of Japanese policy in Manchuria and Korea. He outlined schemes for handing over Manchuria to the Chinese Government as soon as guarantees should be forthcoming for the protection of life and property from brigands, and arrangements concluded for the disposal of public works executed by Japanese officers in Neuchwang and other ports. He went into the matters of the railways and coal-mining rights which Japan retains, and of the Yalu lumber concessions, taken over from the Russians, which are to be worked by joint Japanese and Chinese enterprise. We talked of Japanese reforms in Korea, the autonomy to be allowed to the Korean Government, the facilities to be given to Europeans in exploiting the commercial, industrial, and mining riches of the country, of Japanese adherence to treaties made with Korea by every European nation, except Russia, and the Japanese repudiation of Russian arrangements.

Marquis Ito reminded me that Korea was the ally of Japan in the war with Russia, and that it was the intention of Japan to treat her as such. He dwelt upon the determination of the Government he represents to give equality of opportunity to all legitimate foreign enterprise in the peninsula. His

enthusiasm was contagious when he expressed his belief that honest and efficient administration and even-handed justice are capable of restoring prosperity to the country, and of raising its unfortunate inhabitants from the abject condition into which they have fallen. In one respect he saw that the task which Japan has before her in Korea is easier than that which has confronted Great Britain in Egypt, since Korea is practically free from debt, whereas Egypt was not. It is pleasant to remember that Marquis Ito is still the most influential statesman in Japan. The humane and hopeful policy which he stands for in Korea has at least the impetus lent by a commanding and beloved personality.



CHAPTER XVII

THE JAPANESE COEFFICIENT

IT is easily forgotten that the proportions of the share which Japan will take in the future of the Far East depend upon the peaceful as well as upon the warlike capabilities of her people and civilisation.

Japanese have established themselves in all parts of the Far East. Every open port in China has a well-kept Japanese settlement inhabited by a prosperous community. Two thousand cheerful little traders, including men, women, and children, have crowded to Harbin on business since last September, when railway communication was first restored between that hitherto exclusively Russian centre and the Port Arthur that is now a Japanese city. Kimono-clad merchants have started shops and banking houses, and are hawking the wares of Kobe and Osaka in every considerable Chinese city from Canton to Mukden. Well-found Japanese steamers are to be seen wherever there is water to float in and cargo to carry at a profit. The Japanese ironworks which are to be established

upon the Yangtse will be one of the biggest concerns of the kind in Asia. Japanese competition is felt by every European who does business in the Far East. Indifferent reputation for commercial honesty may hamper some of his transactions, but the Japanese succeeds because he attends industriously to business, and for the common oriental reason that he can live well upon profits on which a white man would starve.

I have found Japanese in the heart of China employed by the Chinese as experts in making cartridges and rifles. I have seen Japanese at their duties as professors in the Peking University and as teachers in military academies which the Chinese Government is setting up. I have talked with Japanese who are mining engineers, dock superintendents, and mill managers. I have visited factories and places of education in Japan and have discussed the industrial and intellectual capacity of the race, with Europeans engaged in commerce, politics, and religion, in many parts of the Far East. The estimates given me are various. Japanese professors in Chinese military academies have been described to me by expert authority as mere schoolboys in knowledge. On the other hand, I have become familiar with the view obtaining in one section of the British commercial community in China, which sees something almost superhuman in the efficiency of Japanese arrangements, and exalts Japanese foresight and attention to detail into gifts of organisation and initiative superior to

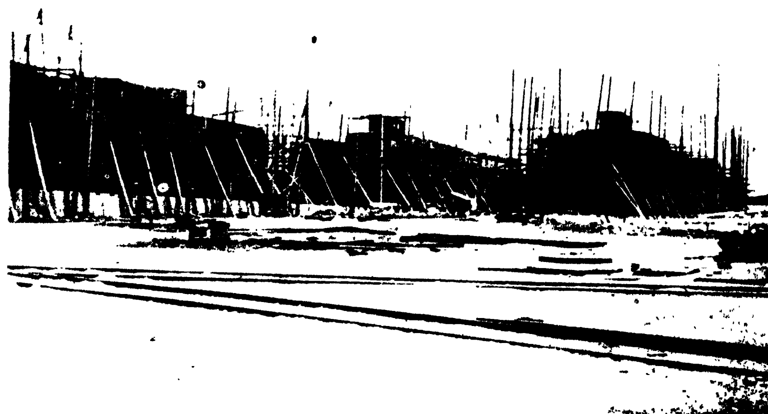
those possessed by any European people. Nor is there any lack of intermediate opinions. The Japanese himself is never tired of flattering his European visitors by assuring them that his countrymen have learnt everything from Europe, that they have no originality, and that their civilisation, industries, and military organisation are mere slavish copies of Western models. The tourist soon learns that self-abasement of this kind is mere formal compliment, no more intended to be taken seriously than are such terms as "miserable hovel" and "honourable mansion" which polite people in the Far East apply to identically constructed houses which differ from each other only in being inhabited, in the one case by the speaker, in the other by the person addressed.

Japanese-built railways took me from one end of Korea to the other, and from the west to the extreme east of Manchuria. The smoking factory-chimneys of cotton-spinning Osaka inked the sky of a whole day of travel. I was shown by hard-headed Japanese managers over dockyards at Kobe where, at the time of my visit, half a dozen nickel-steel plated gunboats of modern pattern were being manufactured for the Chinese Government. Alert, thick-set navvies swarmed over the works, at one time building a fifteen hundred ton steamer, at another busy in the midst of acres of whirling lathes and clanging hydraulic hammers, at a third sitting about in laughing groups discussing, with chopsticks and tin pots of tea, the

universal midday meal of cold boiled rice and dried fish pickle.

The Japanese copper mines near Nikko employ eight thousand horse-power electric plant, and turn out twenty-five tons of copper daily, besides enough sulphuric acid to make that industry-begetting product cheap and plentiful throughout the entire country. Mines in Kiusiu, Yesso, and Hondo yield amongst them annually ten million tons of coal, which finds its way along the coasts of the Far East to Singapore. This coal is inferior in quality to the Cardiff article, but superior to that of Bengal in the proportion that Bengal coal must sell at Hongkong at eight Chinese dollars per ton in order to underbid Japanese coal, in the same port, at ten dollars. The Kure naval yards are building sixteen-thousand ton cruisers. Extensive electric installations driven by water power are in operation in almost every city of any size in Japan.

Even villages are beginning to employ electric plant. Messrs. Siemens and Company are completing a Japanese order for a sixteen thousand horse-power installation for electric tram-driving and manufacturing purposes in Tokyo, and have been applied to in connection with the setting up of a sixty thousand horse-power installation, to be driven by water from the Biwa lake, to supersede coal in Osaka cotton-mills. Electric tram lines are wandering in all directions along country roads where they serve as invaluable feeders to the main lines of railway. Blast-furnaces and rolling mills at





DOCKYARDS IN KOBE AND OSAKA, WHERE . . . GUNBOATS WERE BEING MANUFACTURED FOR THE CHINESE GOVERNMENT

Yawata Mahi are turning out enormous quantities of useful steel, including inch-thick nickel plates for warship construction.

Japan supplies practically the whole of the Far East demand for calcium carbide, which is manufactured at electrically driven works at Kurjana and elsewhere. Cement works at Onoda, Moji, and Tokyo fill the needs of the country for this important article. There is a gold-mine at Kagosuma, Kiusiu, where one thousand horse-power electric plant is used. Splendidly equipped, electrically driven factories at Osaka and Tokyo turn out rifles and heavy guns for the entire Japanese army. Modern, bogie-pattern railway rolling-stock is manufactured at Nagoya and Tokyo. Railway locomotives have been constructed in Japan, though reasons of economy dictate the importation from Europe and America of most of this class of machinery.

Ocean-going steamers, owned and manned by Japanese, maintain regular passenger services across the Pacific and trade along the Chinese coast and to India and Europe. Joint-stock concerns in Osaka boast paid-up Japanese capital amounting to over six million sterling.

Traversing Southern Japan by rail, from Moji to Yokohama, one looks out upon a continual series of flat irrigated fields, cultivated like gardens, and shadowed by rocky hills, which are themselves covered with carefully tended forest. The upper slopes are black with the foliage of stunted pines, only an occasional yellow scar telling of ever-

narrowing stretches where wastes of sand and stones protest against the industry of the Japanese forester. What was once desert is being surely conquered. Already all but a fraction of the total area has been turned to account. The crooked pines give way, as one journeys eastwards, to the softer green of carefully planted deciduous trees, and these shade into the straw-yellows of bamboo forest which covers the outskirts of the minutely cultivated plain. Every yard of level ground is irrigated. Out of shallow water emerge closely set earth-ridges upon which grow a rich yellow harvest of mustard plants with pods parturient for the oil-press. White masses of heavily laden barley and wheat, with brown, thick-set ears, are being reaped. Between the ridges deep green bean foliage promises a second crop. At intervals are spread verdant carpets of recently sown rice which will supply hand-planted materials for yet later yield.

Narrow macadamised roads meander amidst the cultivation. Piously guarded tombstones, mossy and grey, and the brighter tints of thriving villages flit by at intervals. Bandbox houses, with brown thatched roofs and grey-tiled verandahs, dodge the railway track upon both sides of the way. Beside the doorways are poised delicate sprays of big pink roses, each blossom so skilfully isolated against a background of carefully arranged foliage that its beauty invites individual attention. Plump cattle wade, belly deep, in the luscious tilth. The retaining walls of the railway embankments are mosaic

puzzles of irregular grey stones, so exactly fitted into each other that there is no room for mortar, the granite blocks clinging firmly together by dint of sheer accuracy of shaping.

The whole of the wonderful richness of the region is induced artificially. Naturally the soil is poor. The fields would be sand-deserts for hundreds of miles but for irrigation channels which utilise every drop of water available from the mountain streams. These irrigation channels are upon a very large scale. One of them near Kyoto collects the drainage of a whole countryside and carries it, by a tunnel some miles long, right through the rocky range which forms the watershed, to irrigate hundreds of thousands of acres on the other side, which would otherwise be barren. I am informed that this channel was both designed and constructed by Japanese engineers. It is an example of indigenous ingenuity and industry of very high order. I saw long embankments in course of erection along the northern shores of the Inland Sea, where immense areas of what has hitherto been useless beach and waste sea-bottom are being surely reclaimed. The soil where the embankments are new is mere yellow sand, but every stage of development can be seen; for irrigation and fertilisers are being so applied that the entire process of the creation of fields of rich cultivation is visible. An unmistakable odour tells of town sewage that is utilised in quantity to assist; for nothing is wasted.

The process of converting thousands of square miles of bare ridges of rock and sand into profitable forest can also be seen in operation. Few sights are more striking than the bamboo copses between Kobe and Kyoto, which are so thick that the big feathery fronds have had to be tied back with fence-wire, bound like a girl's tresses, to prevent their straying unduly. More than half of the total area of Japan is forest; and sixty-five per cent. of the forests belong to the State. The forest-land is generally so situated as to be out of reach of irrigation, and too poor to be cultivated dry. It affords, in the hands of the Government, however, an important source of national wealth which is increasing steadily, and is a good example of that self-denying foresight which is so characteristic of Japan. I had not time to proceed into the north of the central island, so was unable to gather any personal impression of the drought and consequent famine in progress there, nor of the measures taken by the authorities to relieve distress; but in the south, where small holdings are the rule, the prosperity of the peasants is evident. The land-tax, I understand, averages only about fifteen per cent. of annual value, and is paid easily. A poor soil has been made capable of supporting a teeming population, and wealth is growing fast.

The hand of the Japanese administration is visible everywhere, helping development to proceed. The railways are in course of nationalisation; and the rates for freight and passenger fares are

kept low to encourage traffic. When big iron-works failed under private management the Japanese Government refused to allow them to be closed, but took them over itself and spent millions of yen in making them a partial success.

Up to a comparatively recent period the manhood of South Japan was cooped up upon the land. The holding of each individual family was split into patches, generally separated by other folk's fields and too small to admit of anything but spade cultivation. This has now changed. A law requiring every village community to readjust the distribution of the land so as to give to each family a compact plot, equivalent in value and area to the total of the separate patches it possessed previously, has been adopted with the cheerful obedience which is so characteristic of this remarkable people. Plough cultivation has become practicable in consequence, and labour has been set free in very large quantity. The construction by the local authorities of roads, to replace the footpaths previously in use, has operated in a similar direction, since it has rendered practicable the introduction of draught animals to take the place of the weary carrying of agricultural produce upon the backs of the peasants. This explains the ease with which Japan has spared millions of its manhood, first to fight Russia in Manchuria, and afterwards to pour, as traders and coolies, into the newly-acquired territory of Korea, without trenching seriously upon the supply available to meet the

heavy demand for factory labour in Japan itself. Simultaneously with the creation of fresh sources of industrial wealth has come such notable economy in labour as to avoid any serious blow to the older and less profitable forms of enterprise.

It is important to remember this in estimating the extent to which further industrial development is practicable, since there is room for yet additional economy in labour. Jinrickshaw-men, for example, still teem in every Japanese city, doing work which in almost all other countries is performed by draught animals or machinery. In Japan, cheap electric power promises to become before long so abundant and widely distributed as to set free a very large number of jinrickshaw-men. Already electric trams have done much in this direction. Great as have been the developments in Japan in the forty years which have elapsed since feudalism went out and European methods came in, there is yet prospect of further advance. A continuously increasing birth-rate contributes to the total manhood available, and that manhood profits by better training than the race has ever had before.

Meanwhile some other points must be considered. The annual value of the foreign trade of Japan has risen in the past decade from twenty-three million sterling to sixty-four million, and growth is still proceeding; but the imports considerably exceed the exports. The large amounts of rice, bean-cake, flour, sugar, and raw cotton brought in, show that the people have become dependent upon the

foreigner for a serious fraction of their food, and that the greater portion of the principal raw product required for their mills is grown abroad. The imports of machinery, rails, and other iron goods are also significant. The exports principally comprise such Japanese manufactured articles as cotton yarn and silk piece-goods, of which eight million sterling's worth are shipped annually. Tea, matches, matting, umbrellas, cigarettes, camphor, and porcelain are also important items, and raw products, like copper ore and coal, figure to the annual value of three million sterling. It follows that Japan is using machinery, but not yet making it herself to any very large extent; also that she still sends part of her raw products to be worked up by the foreigner.

The custom duties are heavy, but they serve what every Japanese considers a useful purpose in encouraging home industries as opposed to foreign. They bring in at present from three to four million sterling annually, and are being raised to produce about five million. The new rates average something like fifty per cent. *ad valorem* on the goods, and are higher upon commodities needed by the European in Japan than on those which the Japanese themselves require. The principal sources of Japanese revenue, other than customs, are the land tax, the saké tax, and the salt, tobacco, and camphor monopolies. The national debt is by no means overwhelming, in spite of the great expense of the war with Russia. It amounts, at present, to

less than two hundred million sterling, of which, roughly, a hundred million has been borrowed outside the country. The annual national income before the war was less than thirty million sterling. It has been increased since, by special taxation, to forty million, and will soon touch fifty million. The national debt is not entirely unproductive, for it includes the capital cost of a number of public works bringing in nearly four million sterling annually. With such relation between debt and income the financial position is not disheartening, though ten years of peace and careful economy are essential to enable expenditure upon the administration to keep pace with the material development of the country.

The present standard of efficiency in the public services cannot be maintained without increased outlay. The pay of the officials is so low at present as to threaten the stability of the entire organisation of the Government. Already the bench is fallen into such disfavour that many of the judges look upon it as a mere stepping-stone to the more adequately remunerated bar. High servants of the State are unable to mix upon equal terms with Europeans and other well-to-do strangers, and often hold themselves aloof in consequence, for fear of being put to shame by the poorness of the circumstances in which they are compelled to live. In any other nation grave deterioration would have resulted already; and in Japan it threatens seriously. In every branch of

Japanese development marvellous progress has been made; but everywhere there is a sharply defined need of money. The country has entered upon vast schemes of national improvement; scarcity of resources alone hampers their growth. The skill that has been shown in internal organisation promises well for Japanese ability to deal with allied problems in Korea and China. Basic limitations, however, exist, and cannot fail to affect the issue.

CHAPTER XVIII

CONTRADICTIONS IN THE JAPANESE CHARACTER

THE Japanese soldier, from the most senior general down to the last-joined private, is high-spirited, hospitable, and chivalrous, ready to sacrifice himself for his beloved country, obedient to authority, brave, resourceful, and democratic. The familiarity which I have noted as existing between the officer and the private is remarkable to those who are accustomed to the greater distance maintained between members of the corresponding ranks in European armies; but it does not interfere with discipline. The pride which animates every branch of the service is splendid. I have seen a thirsty Japanese soldier, after a hot day's tramp in the sun over a Manchurian battlefield, refuse a drink because, as he explained to the interpreter, he was on duty. I remember another, who had been given a smoke by a visitor for whom he had performed some trifling service, decline to consume it until satisfied that one of his own cigarettes was to be accepted in return. To tip a Japanese soldier-

servant would be an insult against which I received friendly warning at an early stage in my wanderings.

The European finds intercourse with Japanese gentlemen more difficult than he is sometimes prepared to admit. This is because the Japanese, while hanging together themselves in the closest possible manner, regard the members of every other nationality with distrust. It is distrust for which the past may afford ample justification; but this does not prevent its inconvenience as a present condition. The Japanese tries hard to make an exception in favour of the Englishman. He reminds himself that he is dealing with an ally. He loads the English visitor with hospitality. He tolerates, with continual patience and admirable temper, what he considers the shockingly bad manners of the Occidental. He is for ever endeavouring to see this friendly barbarian from a favourable point of view, and to ignore his drawbacks. The Englishman tries in return not to be irritated by the Oriental's attitude of secretiveness, self-consciousness, and suspicion, which flowery language, engaging manners, and exaggerated humility do but emphasise; and he recognises to the full his good-fellowship, kindliness, and painstaking conscientiousness. But neither feels wholly at ease in the presence of the other. The differences of race, tradition, and custom are so great as to constitute almost a physical diversity of species, and a physical discomfort in the best-intentioned attempt at inter-

course. Both are conscious of a barrier, swept away sometimes by community of interest and alliance, but inevitably restored, with results that affect the entire political situation in the Far East.

Japanese methods do not always commend themselves to Europeans. One hears of officers who condescended to disguise themselves as coolies and pull the jinrickshaws of visitors belonging to a country with which Japan was at peace, in order to overhear talk that might possibly prove useful politically. Japanese combatants have taken service in different parts of the world as photographers, and even as porters and domestics, in order to surprise the naval and military secrets of their employers. The soldier is thorough in everything, not excluding the obtaining of information by whatever means he can. The world has abundantly recognised Japanese self-denial, Japanese courage, and Japanese honour. It has yet to recognise the military side of Japanese taste.

I have referred to the fact that the whole of the public services in Japan are underpaid. The Lord Chancellor, who presides over the highest court of appeal, gets a salary of £500 a year. A general officer in the field receives £35 monthly, a subaltern two shillings a day, and a private three-halfpence in addition to his keep. The poverty of the whole of the members of the civil services is pathetic, yet I have never heard a whisper of justice being sold, or of corruption, for selfish purposes, upon any really extensive scale amongst the officials. The traders,

artisans, and labourers have notoriously a less favourable record. They are industrious and ingenious, but have won the very reverse of that reputation for honesty and fair-dealing which the Chinese have long possessed.

The foreign traveller of independent means sees little of the national failing; not so the foreign business man with a stake in the country. Japan is a tourist's paradise because the tourist is a source of profit to its people; but it is no place for the European who has to make his living. I refer not so much to European experts in Japanese employ, who are rapidly disappearing, but to the European merchants who do business upon their own account. These men see the Japanese at his worst. I have heard a level-headed Englishman amongst them compare the position which he and his fellows occupy to that of the outlander in Johannesburg before the Transvaal war. Ostensibly, they are protected by treaty and given absolute equality of opportunity with their Japanese competitors. Practically, they are hampered upon all sides. They find the Japanese official in league with the Japanese merchant to undersell them. Regulations are rigidly enforced where they operate to the foreigner's disadvantage, but are read in an altogether different spirit where Japanese merchants are concerned. For one European merchant who has been able to say that he considers, upon the whole, that the particular operations he is concerned with are given a fair

field, two have assured me that they find the contrary to be the case.

I do not quote the bitter things that are said by Belgians, Germans, and other Continentals who are struggling on in business in Japan under adverse circumstances, because these persons, as a class, are so hostile to the Japanese that it is only natural that they should meet with hostility in return. I refer rather to Englishmen and Americans, who are in sympathy upon other points with the Japanese, and are unlikely therefore to exaggerate the differences which exist. It is perhaps natural that specific examples of obstruction should be hard to find. The cases quoted to me refer, for the most part, to what appear to the non-expert somewhat petty matters connected with facilities and rebates of freight upon Government-owned or officially subsidised railways, steamers and other services, also with the levying of local taxation and the framing and working of the Japanese customs tariff. Individually, they may be susceptible of easy explanation; but collectively they indicate the existence in Japan of a state of feeling which has grown, when transplanted to Korea, into active friction between the foreign trader and the paramount authorities.

The Japanese think the white man amongst them disproportionately well-to-do. They combine, in consequence, to relieve him of some of his superfluous prosperity. At a Japanese show in Tokyo I was asked, as entrance fee, precisely double the

sum which Japanese, in European attire, were paying for similar accommodation at the same time. A polite explanation was vouchsafed that the sum was double in my case because I was big and would take up space. The European merchant doing business in Japan may console himself for the moment with a somewhat similar reflection. He, too, no doubt is big, and takes up space; but he will not be able to do so for long, since one class of business after another is being taken out of his hands. This is the more galling since the sufferers believe that if the field were open they could more than hold their own.

The Chinese merchant is content to work with and through the foreigner. The Japanese will do nothing of the kind, but is determined to get business sooner or later into his own hands. The ambition of Japan is to drive all manufactures but her own out of Japanese markets, and out of those of China, Manchuria, and Korea, to absorb the carrying trade, and to employ none but Japanese in the handling and distributing of the goods. Looked at by itself, this ambition is honourable and legitimate. The foreigner who is being displaced, however, has cause for indignation, since not only does he find the State leagued with private enterprise against him, but Japanese Government contracts interpreted with a looseness which gives him cause for continual anxiety.

The scheme for the nationalisation of the principal railways in Japan may be quoted as a

typical example of Japanese methods. No one who has lived in India, where the nationalisation of the railways has proved an unmixed boon to the taxpayer, can doubt the wisdom of the general intention underlying the measures taken by the Japanese Government towards a similar end. The same cannot be said of the method employed. The dangerous principle has been accepted that, what government can give, government can take away. Concessions, with many years still to run, are being suddenly abrogated. A sense of insecurity has been created which cannot fail to react unfavourably upon the credit of the country. It is true that the existing companies are to be bought out upon liberal terms. The shareholders are to receive five per cent. bonds to an amount which approximates to twenty per cent. above the market value of their property at the time of the transaction. They may profit in the end by this arrangement, though this was by no means certain at the beginning; but they have a legitimate grievance in being arbitrarily deprived of securities in which they felt confidence, by exchange for others of a different nature. Financiers at Tokyo ask themselves what guarantee exists that other national liabilities will not be juggled with similarly.

I have referred to what the European in the Far East considers to be questionable methods upon the part of Japanese military and naval officers in the matter of obtaining intelligence. It

is fair to add that these methods cannot be described as at all directly countenanced by the Japanese Government. The breach of neutrality committed by a Japanese naval commander in Korean waters at Chemulpo, at the beginning of the war with Russia, which resulted in the destruction of two of the Russian war-vessels, received no open official recognition. Neither did the unsuccessful attempt, made shortly afterwards by Japanese officers in disguise, to blow up one of the big bridges in Central Asia in the rear of the Russians, whether justifiable or otherwise under the special circumstances of the case. On the contrary, the authorities held responsible for each occurrence were formally reprimanded. The story of a breach-of-neutrality incident in the Spanish-American war, where an over-zealous United States officer is said to have been solemnly court-martialled, condemned, *and promoted*, may be recalled in this connection; but I am assured there was no corresponding humour in the Japanese proceedings. Japanese recruits, sent to the front during the war, were carefully instructed before starting in what was supposed to be the European code of honour. I am told that both the railway in the Russian rear, and also the Neuchwang-Sinmintung line, which long continued to carry from China supplies for General Kuropatkin's forces, might have been cut had the Japanese resorted to really extensive alliance with brigand Hunchuses. The small scale upon which such alliance took place must be attri-

buted quite as much to Japanese chivalry as to self-interested resolve to command the respect of the civilised world.

It is possible to say that the Japanese fighting man of to-day is the lineal descendant of the gallant Samurai whose devotion to his feudal chief has inspired a national poetry and created a national cult, while the commercial Japanese belongs to another class of life and has been despised by his own fellow-countrymen until he has sunk accordingly. This, however, is but a rough discrimination, and will not cover the acts of the people as a whole. To attribute to the spirit of the Samurai the self-denying promises of the Japanese Government to treat foreigners upon an industrial and commercial equality with Japanese in Manchuria and Korea, and to blame the commercialism of Japanese public opinion with the failure which has occurred to keep the spirit of these promises, is neither logical nor sufficient. It is better to say that commercial dealing, even by the Government, is not yet quite recognised as an expression of national honour. We must take the Japanese nation as a whole, and remind ourselves that distinguished qualities do not create perfect people. Polished manners, kindliness, courage, intense national as well as personal pride and sensitiveness to public opinion, are widely characteristic. The Japanese have been tactless and sometimes brutal masters of subject races in Formosa and Korea, only because they lack facility in recognising points of

view other than their own. They have drunk the strong wine of victory over a European power without the intoxication that most other peoples would have shown. Their brave moderation in action, their generosity in victory, their dignity in reverse, their subordination of all lesser considerations to a common aim, and their proud refusal to boast or exaggerate, may well be held to outbalance the spirit of dishonest commercialism which is also abroad in their land.

CHAPTER XIX

LIMITATIONS TO JAPANESE EFFICIENCY

TEN years ago English engineers were in charge of almost every cotton-mill in Osaka; Belgians controlled the steel-works of Kiusiu; Germans and Americans were entrusted with the technical direction of the electric tram lines and lighting installations which have been set up in most of the bigger towns and even in some villages. British sea-captains commanded Japanese merchant ships. English was heard upon the quarter-deck and in the engine-room of every Japanese war-vessel. German military instructors were to be found in camp and barrack-square. Graduates of Oxford and London delivered the principal lectures in the Tokyo University. Japanese railways, dockyards, and irrigation works all leaned heavily on Europe. This is now wholly —I hesitate to say irrevocably—changed.

The well-found steamer which conveyed me from Fusan to Moji, over the scene of Admiral Togo's final victory, was built, commanded, and manned by Japanese exclusively. The national naval

base upon that emerald and sapphire training-ground for Japanese bluejackets, the Inland Sea, employs no British officers beyond one highly paid naval constructor and a few draughtsmen and other assistants. Sixteen-thousand ton men-of-war are built at Kure, of materials partly of European origin, with but very little assistance from Westerners upon the spot. Japanese, not Germans, drill the troops at Hiroshima. The coal-mines, blast-furnaces, and steel-works are under Japanese engineers and Japanese masters. I did not see a single European in the dockyards of Kobe or Osaka. Hardly any of the Japanese cotton-mills now employ Europeans. At the Tokyo University I was shown round by a highly cultivated Japanese professor, who could introduce me to none but Japanese colleagues. The comfortable electric tram-lines, which carried me to see the lacquer and gilt temples in Kyoto and Tokyo, were ru by indigenous experts.

The European in Japanese employ has practical disappeared. Where he still exists he is a me survival of a state of things which has gone. H resents his supersession, but has no just cause grievance, for he was treated liberally as long his contract lasted. Little visible change h followed his dismissal. The works go on ve much as before and many of them continue t do well financially; but this does not prove tha the European is not missed or that some loss efficiency has not followed his elimination. The

a tale, pretty well ear-marked by now, but very illustrative, of Japanese engineers failing so completely to learn the essentials of an exotic industry that European experts had to be recalled, after a costly attempt had been made to do without their services. This was in some big ironworks where the molten metal refused to flow from the principal blast-furnaces, soon after white supervision had been bowed out of the gate. The furnaces were ruined by the coagulation of the pig-iron within them, and dynamite had to be employed to clear away the debris.

It is not always safe to turn to Peking for a parallel to anything Japanese, but the fate of the European methods introduced into China after the Taiping rebellion, nearly half a century ago, is not without a moral of very general application in the Far East. Gordon had stamped out a rebellion which had threatened to overwhelm the Manchu dynasty. He had employed for this purpose Chinese troops, which he had drilled and armed in the then modern fashion. The Peking mandarins were so badly frightened that they decided upon reform, and imported a number of British military and naval experts to improve the Chinese State forces. The experiment was not persisted in long enough to be of more than very temporary assistance to the army; but the naval officers bought some modern ironclads and trained their Chinese crews so efficiently that the navy became by no means despicable, and remained so for a consider-

able time. Had the China-Japanese war occurred in 1880, instead of fourteen years later, there would have been much more doubt of the issue. The event turned out as it did because the reactionary party in China was able to reassert itself when the Taiping danger had passed away. The British officers were replaced by Chinese, and naval efficiency at once declined so steadily that no stand could be made against the Japanese in 1904.

The Japanese have persisted far more doggedly than did the Chinese in adopting European methods. Their organisation in the war against Russia proved that they could not only profit by, but in some cases improve upon the teaching of their German drill-instructors and British naval experts. The same holds, but to a more limited extent, in regard to their industrial methods. Japanese inventiveness and attention to the minutiæ of organisation have enabled mills and factories in Japan to maintain a considerable degree of efficiency long after the withdrawal of the Europeans who initiated the various industries; but deterioration is by no means unknown. Competent authorities are to be found in Japan who hold that the falling off from European standards is far more serious and wide-spread than is generally supposed, though partly compensated by Japanese resourcefulness and industry. The supply of trained Japanese mechanics and engineers is so limited that machinery is often injured by unskilled handling. When the original

managers make money they occasionally lose interest in their undertakings, which pass to irresponsible underlings. The plant, which is often of the best, is not kept in as good order as would be the case in European workshops and factories. Nor are defects in one concern compensated, as in Europe, by increased excellence in another.

Ship-building is one of the most highly developed industries in Japan. In the principal dockyards of Osaka and Kobe I saw a number of steel vessels under construction, including half a dozen torpedo-boats and two gunboats intended for the Chinese navy. The work struck me as of very fair quality and as proceeding at good speed, though the day's task performed by the individual workman was considerably less than a European would have got through. Deficiency in the unit of work, however, was fully compensated by numerical superiority in the workmen. Nickel-steel plates of excellent quality were in use; but I observed that both these plates and also much of the shafting and other working parts of the engines were of European or American manufacture. The drawing of the plans, the bolting together of the framework and plates, the installing of the engines, and the manufacture and fitting of the woodwork must be credited to the Japanese. Those portions of the materials which are difficult to prepare, also the more complicated factors in the mechanism, which, in Europe, would be made at home, were imported.

Similarly, in the case of the electric tram-lines

at Tokyo and Kyoto, I found that the woodwork of the cars and the steel rails were Japanese, but the working parts, as a rule, were of foreign origin. The Japanese has learnt to use the white man's inventions and to operate his machinery, but has stopped short of inventing and making the machinery for himself. I am aware that this allegation is disputed. The Japanese claim to be large inventors, and quote their rifle, their high explosives, and their wireless telegraph as examples of their achievements in this field. The more closely, however, that intelligent foreigners in Japan have been associated with these inventions, the more sceptical one finds them upon the subject of the originality involved. The laws of Japan afford little protection to foreign patents. The Japanese is clever in borrowing the discoveries of others and in adding unimportant modifications which give an appearance of novelty. His critics regard the secrecy in which he wraps many of his manufacturing processes as confirmative of the common allegation that he is making illegitimate use of other men's discoveries. Evidence of clever imitation and adaptation is everywhere available in Japan, but examples of originality in practical matters are more difficult to obtain.

The ordinary Japanese believes with some reason that, individually or collectively, he has learnt pretty well all that the average imported employee can teach him; but he recognises that processes and inventions are in use in Europe and America which

are still worth his while to master. He travels assiduously to study them, and is remarkably successful in searching out what is of value. He then returns to Japan with the results, and organises the cheap labour which is there available in turning them to account. The copy is astonishingly good, but the original still surpasses it. The Japanese has started, with the light-hearted self-confidence of a clever boy, to undertake anything and everything the European can accomplish ; and he has had such a large measure of success that a tendency has arisen to magnify his achievements unduly. He has passed beyond the inferior and the mediocre, but must pursue the road of progress a very great deal further before he can overtake the white man at his best.

Japan has made her grand national effort, and must now rest to refit and recuperate. Education, high and low, technical and physical, as well as theoretical, is extending gradually amongst her people ; but progress is slow. Elementary teaching reaches a larger proportion of the children of school-going age than in any other country in the world. No one can see the large crowds of well-developed men and boys at physical drill in the free, open-air gymnasia of Tokyo, without comparing them, to their advantage, with the average manhood of Great Britain. The laboratories and workshops of the Tokyo University, where education is free, can challenge the costly corresponding institutions at Eton and Oxford without fear of

being put to shame; but there is one deficiency. The number of Japanese possessed of first-class training is still very small. The demand for trained men in every branch of enterprise has outstripped the supply so completely that individuals with only rudimentary acquirements have to be accepted and paid for as if they were the genuine article. Japanese engineers are especially scarce. Railway companies in China are beginning to find that it is cheaper to import Europeans than to employ the Japanese who are available; and Chinese officials constantly complain of inefficiency upon the part of the so-called Japanese experts in their service.

The Japanese no doubt needs every advantage he has in China, and the greatest is his natural power of assimilation with the Chinese. His elaborate manners commend themselves to Chinese notions of propriety, whereas the abruptness of European behaviour gives sore offence. In a set of papers published in Shanghai in 1901, Ku Hung-Ming, a Chinese gentleman with European education, who was at the time secretary-interpreter to Viceroy Chang-Chih-Tung, quotes with approval the statement of Count Cassini that "The Chinese are a polite people, and the English and Germans are—well—as a rule, not very polite," and adds, "The fact is, the average foreigner in China is often very unreasonable and hasty; and the average Chinaman is polite and reserved. When you make an unreasonable request to a really educated Chinaman, it is impossible for him

to say 'No.' His innate politeness will prompt him to use polite evasiveness by giving you a conditional 'Yes.' The late Marquis Tseng Kuo-Fan, in a letter to a friend in 1860, says, 'When you meet with foreigners who make insolent and insulting remarks to your face, the best course to take is to smile blandly and look stupid, as if you did not understand them.' . . . Thus against foreign unreasonableness the educated Chinese are often prompted to use polite evasiveness, and against foreign unreasonable violence the Chinese sometimes use a weapon which in Chinese is called '*Chi mi*,' translated by Dr. Giles as 'to halter.' In fact when you meet a violent mad bull, it is of no use to reason with him; the only thing you can do is to halter him."

The ordinary European often comes to grief in China because he cannot communicate with those around him. The Japanese suffers from no such disability since he has only to write to be understood, the picture signs being practically identical in the two languages. Physically the races have so many points of resemblance that Chinese students in Japan who cut off their queues and dress in kimonos can often pass undiscovered as Japanese, and Japanese in China can make themselves similarly at home. The Japanese looks upon China as his natural field of enterprise, and flocks there in large numbers. As an interpreter of Western science to the Chinese he has the important qualification, which the Euro-

pean lacks, of having personally experienced the difficulties which present themselves to the Oriental. Nevertheless, his Chinese pupils are beginning to realise that it is more advantageous to learn first-hand from the Europeans than second-hand from the Japanese. The Japanisation of China is proceeding, in consequence, very much more slowly than is generally supposed. So long as Japanese professors, engineers, soldiers, and chemists were notably cheaper than Europeans and claimed equivalent qualifications, there was a definite incentive to the Chinese to turn to Japan for their requirements. Now that this is no longer the case, as the excess of demand over supply has sent up the price of the Japanese commodity, a reaction has commenced.

Japan may yet arrive at the port where many of her admirers imagine her to be at anchor already. She has put out the Western pilot and weathered a storm since his departure; but some eccentricities in the course she is steering are already apparent, and a wide ocean has still to be crossed.

CHAPTER XX

THE NEW AND THE OLD IN TOKYO

THE High Court at Tokyo is a typical institution of the Japanese present. It comprises three sets of tribunals, a Local Court of first instance, an Appeal Court to which reference can be made in almost all cases on both law and fact, and a Supreme Court which gives a second reference on points of law only, and corresponds to the appellate tribunal of our House of Lords. As Japan has borrowed its naval training from England and its military system from Germany, so it has introduced its judicial arrangements from France. No juries are employed, and long cross-questioning of prisoners and defendants by the bench are familiar features of the proceedings in court. The bar is exclusively Japanese, and its members enjoy much consideration and make large incomes. They represent clients, address the court, and suggest to the judges questions to put to the witnesses, but they do no examining. On the other hand, admissions which they make are held to have been made by their clients. The court consists always of several judges sitting as a

bench. There is also in each court a public prosecutor who represents the Crown in criminal cases, and watches the public interest in civil ones. The accused is always expected to confess, and so much weight is attached to his doing so that, up to thirty years ago, torture was employed as a regular means to this end. Professor Basil Chamberlain tells in "Things Japanese" how its abolition was brought about by the indignant protests of a distinguished French jurist, employed by the Japanese Government to introduce the present system, who found his labours in the court interrupted by groans, and forced his way to their source to discover the existence of a torture chamber. He offered his employers the alternative of abolishing torture or of losing his services; and the threat prevailed. The change was a very necessary preliminary to the abandonment, so necessary to Japan's status among civilised powers, of extra-territoriality.

Judges have been known to go out on strike in Japan for better pay; but their probity is unquestioned. I have heard some of their decisions in commercial cases, in which Europeans have been concerned, criticised as lacking in technical knowledge, but never as intentionally unjust. The judicial system has been transplanted to Japanese soil with little loss of vitality; but the French lawyers who introduced the exotic have now retired and its culture is in the hands of the indigenes.

I visited the High Courts in Tokyo under the favourable auspices of a letter of introduction to the Minister of Justice. The Chief Justice of the Local Court, a solid gentleman in European morning dress, was good enough to conduct me over all the courts that happened to be sitting; and the secretary to the Minister of Justice kindly accompanied us as interpreter. We passed through a simply furnished ante-room to which the judges retire to discuss their decisions. The Chief Justice climbed up half a dozen steps at the far end and opened a small door in the wall at the top. He then turned and beckoned us to follow him. Upon the other side we found ourselves upon the rostrum of the bench in one of the smaller courts, and were accommodated with chairs, a little in the rear of those of three judges who were engaged in trying a case.

The judges wore black gauze caps and plain black robes; and the impression they gave me was the pleasant one of substantial capacity and quiet common sense. The man they were trying was a Japanese coolie, accused of selling saké without a licence. The senior judge was examining a deferential but self-possessed youth appearing as a witness on behalf of the accused, who sat stolidly alongside. The boy was questioned as to his connection with the principal in the case, and was told eventually that his evidence would be taken as that of a relative and not as of an ordinary witness, the latter being liable to penalties in case of perjury which the former escapes. In Japanese law you may lie for

your relatives without committing perjury, but your tendency to do so is discounted in advance. Two women in black kimonos sat behind with troubled faces. A ferret-faced lawyer in cap and gown was with them.

Our visit to this court was brief, for there was much to see. We passed into another, which was also subordinated to my kindly cicerone, and saw a case postponed in which the prisoner refused to confirm the statement taken down by the judge in the preliminary secret examination where the *primâ facie* case is made out.

Then we went on to a third and sat upon the bench, as strangers in the wake of a Chief Justice may, in a very much more important case. The large hall below us was crowded. Seventeen Japanese in robes, with the look of keenness and assurance upon their faces which stands for practising barristers in all parts of the world, lounged upon seats in the middle, since deference to the bench is not exacted from the bar in Japan as strictly as in England. In front of the barristers were huddled some fifty accused who were under the charge of a number of court officials. On one side half a dozen newspaper reporters painted in pictorial shorthand. A crowd filled the body of the building. We were assisting at the trial of some of the rioters who had made a demonstration against the acceptance by their country of the self-denying conditions of the peace treaty with Russia. The best counsel in Japan were engaged in the defence, and the

sympathy of the spectators was all upon one side. The state of feeling was not so much apparent in the attitude of the silent and respectful crowd as implied in the faces of the accused, who were grave but by no means disquieted, though several people had lost their lives in the disturbance. They believed still in the righteousness of their action, and relied confidently upon the patriotism which had prompted their offence to extract them from serious consequence. They were dressed, like the crowd at the back, in the blue kimonos of the working classes, whereas all the officials of the court wore European dress beneath their robes of office. The judicial desks were piled high with paper books containing the records of the evidence.

As we arrived, the senior judge, who occupied the central seat upon the bench, was reading out statements made by the prisoners in their preliminary secret examination. The men concerned stood up as their names were called; and I saw no endeavour made, either by themselves or their counsel, to dispute the accuracy of the record. The public prosecutor, who sat to the right of the bench, had an assistant beside him, but neither of the pair spoke. Their responsibilities were heavy, since the side they represented was unpopular and at a disadvantage as regards legal talent, but their faces wore the look of men unlikely to be turned from their duty by either eloquence or sentiment.

The case proceeded slowly, and the senior judge

was still reading out the notes when my companions took me away. Our destination was now the Appeal Court, outside the jurisdiction of the Local Court Chief Justice, so a seat upon the bench was no longer available; and we made our way to an enclosure open to the public. This faced the judicial rostrum, on which five judges sat in a row, flanked by the public prosecutor upon the right and the clerk of the court upon the left. Five barristers occupied positions at a row of small tables immediately in front of us. We were the only spectators present, and neither of the parties to the case that was under appeal appeared. Two of the barristers were upon their feet, one of them silent, the other rasping out the defence. The Chief Judge, who sat in the centre of the rostrum, afterwards said a few grave words, and the case was over. The two counsel for the defence, also a barrister who had been for the plaintiff, walked out, after bowing slightly to the bench. They left the door open behind them, and their tramp and voices echoed loudly through the empty stone corridor outside. A marshal, who sat below the bench, in white duck uniform with brass buttons, opened his eyes suddenly and climbed carefully down from his chair, his legs not being long enough to reach the ground as he sat. He walked stiffly across the court and shut the door with precision, thereafter returning to his seat and reclosing his eyes. The court clerk shut up his note-book and put away a paint-brush.

One of the remaining barristers rose, turned over a packet of tissue paper covered with neat black writing, and cleared his throat loudly. He then muttered a few words and hunted about for the place. Judge number two on the right sighed softly. Judge number one on the left changed a cramped position. Stout counsel for the defendant sat squarely to attention. Counsel for the petitioner found the place at last and got into his subject. He was appealing against the decision of a Local Court which had thrown out a petition to have a son disqualified on grounds of misbehaviour from succeeding to family property. The case must have been a forlorn one, for counsel kept his nose in his notes and sawed away at the points with an "I don't care what you may say" intonation that arrayed all my sympathies in favour of the peccant son. I was waiting to see the Chief Justice glance round his colleagues and dismiss the appeal when my conductors arose and led the way out of the court. We had seen the appellate machine at work, and there was something else to be done. We went out as quietly as we could, and closed the door carefully behind, but the corridor echoed badly. The court seemed impervious to interruption. The judges on the bench were all watching their barrister, and I feel confident that they dealt with him firmly.

Outside we met an under-trial prisoner in an enormous basket mask, since such is the kind-heartedness of the Japanese that they will not hurt even a criminal's feelings by exposing him as such to

the public gaze until they are quite sure no mistake has been made about his guilt. He was on his way to his cell in the basement, from the secret examination before the recording judge. A closely barred door to this secret tribunal was shown to me. It led out of a dusky passage and seemed more appropriate to the past than to the present. Below were the cells where cheerful Japanese policemen kept watch over disconsolate under-trial prisoners, who turned their faces away as we approached.

The Supreme Court was not in session, but my conductors carried me to its rostrum, where stood the seven empty chairs of the ordinary bench, with space around them for twenty-three more, since the whole of the thirty judges sit together whenever an appeal which involves any previous decision of any of their number is brought before them. They also took me to call upon the President of the Supreme Court, a courteous elderly gentleman in European dress, who gave us tea in his simply furnished office and inquired politely, in Japanese, about my travels, suggesting that I should visit the Singamo prison to obtain a further impression of the system of Japanese justice.

To the Singamo prison I accordingly went the next day. It is at the other end of Tokyo, and confines eighteen hundred long-term prisoners. The wards are well-built structures, radiating from a centre and elaborately fitted up. The prisoners were engaged, under the supervision of a surprisingly large number of paid warders, in such industries as weaving, boot-

making, tailoring, grain-grinding, and smithy work. The system largely utilised in India, of employing the better-behaved convicts to look after their more troublesome fellows, was not adopted. I saw attractive kitchens where savoury rice and vegetables were being cooked for the convicts, and was shown the varying measures of food given to each individual to accord with his behaviour; for the Japanese hold quite wisely that violence and misbehaviour are best met by reducing the rice supply. This means of discipline, I gathered, was held rather *in terrorem* than practised habitually, since most of the prisoners looked well fed and cheerful. The arrangements were so complicated that I was not surprised to learn that the cost of each prisoner is a hundred per cent. more than in Indian jails, though this did not seem to imply any noticeably higher standard of health or reformation.

The whole organisation, from the secret chambers of preliminary judicial investigation, where the accused is tried by every test but that of the opinion of his peers, to the glazed hospital wards of the prison, where the consumptive criminal is given every luxury except fresh air, struck me as over-elaborated in faithful imitation of not always perfect European models. It represents, however, a surprisingly high standard, considering the shortness of the time which has elapsed since its introduction from the West; and its limitations are typical of the stage which Japan has now reached as a state civilised upon Western pattern.

To step back into the Japan of the past it is necessary to go no further than the immense pandal in the heart of the city in which the national wrestling competition is still held. The road passes the palace garden, where a space as big as Trafalgar Square is hedged with closely set rows of guns of every calibre, captured from the Russians and hauled to this central location, without regard to cost or labour, to be a perpetual reminder to the Japanese people of danger they must ever stand ready to face.

A jinrickshaw whirled me to the Ekoin temple and on through an arch thirty feet high, which in itself constitutes one of the prizes given to the master wrestler. The arch was built of nothing but straw-bound pots, the size of coal-scuttles, each filled to its earthen brim with the strongest saké. Beyond was the wrestling booth, an immense structure, into the dark interior of which sunbeams slanted distractingly through holes in the torn mat roof. Only slowly could a way be made through the crowd to a tottering grand-stand, where seats were obtainable. A dado of yellow faces, white straw hats, and dingy kimonos lined the walls of the thronged amphitheatre. In the middle was a raised mud platform containing a small ring marked off by a hayrope sunk in the floor. The platform was shaded by an erection like that which covers a four-poster bed.

An umpire squatted gravely upon his heels at the foot of each of the bed-posts. On benches around

were half a dozen of the biggest and fattest Japanese I have ever seen. They were innocent of clothes except for a blue belt with stiff tassels, which stuck out round them like the frill on a ham-bone. The flesh hung from their sides in pendulous masses. It was the most lamentable spectacle of strong men made gross and what we should think out of condition, I had ever seen.

Presently there appeared in the ring a grey kimono with white socks below, a large fan at one side, and a round head of closely cropped black hair on top. It was the master of the ceremonies with his back towards us, in the act of making an announcement to the assembly. With no desire to be flippant, I can only say that the words, which were of course incomprehensible, sounded like the prolonged lamentations of a deserted cat. The interpreter explained that they signified the postponement of the finals by a day for the reason that one of the champions had cut his lip.

The situation thus cleared, two of the fat men lumbered up, one from either side, to plant themselves opposite to one another in the ring, where they stood with feet wide apart and looked at each other. Then one of them lifted up a huge leg sideways, until the knee was almost as high as the shoulder, and brought it down again with a stamp. He repeated the performance first with one foot and then with the other a number of times over. His *vis-à-vis* copied him exactly.

The two great men were stretching themselves

before their admirers, and we all waited respectfully; but nothing happened. Suddenly both squatted down on their heels. The grey kimono did the same, and extended a yellow hand to set great man number one back an inch exactly, after which he flapped his fan violently and caterwauled more briefly. A homeric battle was surely about to begin, but not so. Number one champion suddenly stood up and went off the platform for a drink, which he took with much ceremony. Number two champion followed his example, and rubbed himself all over with a small piece of thin paper. The first round was over, and neither had touched the other; but both took a good rest before they reappeared in the ring. Then the process was repeated. The second round was exactly like the first, except that hero number one danced on his heels, and hero number two took exercise by standing up straight and then suddenly getting down upon his hands and knees—manœuvres which required hero number one to do the same. Neither touched the other, but this did not interfere with the necessity of another adjournment for drinks and massage. The third, fourth, fifth, and sixth rounds were equally preliminary.

The audience grew impatient, and an individual in the dress circle barked out some comment at which there was a roar. "He say first-class wrestlers not so slow," interpreted the hotel guide. There was another shout, and "He say so long time must pay forfeit," was the translation.

Then something happened. Number two made a spring and clutched at number one, but number one did not approve. He folded his arms and backed out of the ring without being collared. That finished round the seventh, and there was another interval for rest and refreshments. The eighth round was no more exciting; but in the ninth number one took the offensive. Number two refused, but was too late in doing so, and received as he retired a heavy push and an open-handed smack in the eye which sent him flying off the stage. He sat down and nursed his eye with a paper pocket-handkerchief, getting up now and then to rinse his mouth with water. Number one stood proudly to attention in the ring while various officials in old willow-pattern petticoats crowded round number two to suggest he should return to the contest; but number two had had enough and would not. The grey kimono went to the umpires and had a lengthy confabulation with each apart. Then all four umpires rose stiffly to their feet and discussed the matter together in the middle of the ring. One of them was deputed to examine the eye, which showed no signs of injury visible from the grand stand. He returned, and a further council was held.

At length the senior willow-pattern made an announcement, which we all received with relief. The interpreter explained that the match was drawn, but not with honour. Number one retired with head erect. Number two shuffled off dejectedly, and two fresh champions appeared.

This time there was to be no fiasco. The stamping and leg-stretching lasted not more than a minute. Then both got down upon their hands and knees. The umpire tapped them apart, and both went off for a drink. Then they faced each other again, and in a flash were boxing like two cats on a housetop. The struggle lasted ten seconds, and the one who was bald-headed received a punch on the throat which sent him out of the ring. That finished the event, and the man who was still in the ring was clapped as victorious.

Other pairs succeeded. Two men like bladders gripped each other suddenly, with hardly any preliminaries, and fell heavily together. The wrestler who was uppermost was declared the victor. It was almost impossible to believe that the man underneath had not burst with the shock, so extraordinarily inflated was his person and so violent the concussion, but he picked himself up cheerfully, none the worse for the encounter, which had at least been honourable.

Presently a well-matched couple set to work and struggled violently about the ring for half a minute in tight embrace. Then they leant up against each other heavily to recover breath. The real thing had surely come at last. But no; the master of the ceremonies interfered. He touched each man on the shoulder, whereupon the embrace was ended and the meek combatants retired for the indispensable refreshments.

The proceedings had become wearisome, and

the prospect of another long set of preliminaries was not exhilarating. It was an agreeable surprise, therefore, to see that the match was to be continued where it had left off. The champions reappeared, and the umpires took hold of their long arms and arranged them round each other, exactly as they had been before. Another well-matched tussle ensued. Neither went down, and in a few seconds the umpire again interfered. This time it was to announce that a draw with honour had occurred. The champions unlocked, and retired with equal pride to the cheerful accompaniment of clapping.

The last round of the day followed. A lithe man in hard condition but small of stature tackled a fat giant vigorously and well. The giant threw his assailant at last and fell heavily beside him; but the smaller man's pluck was excellent, and the assembly cheered him lustily. The guide explained that the winner in this case was the second favourite.

The proceedings terminated and the crowd trooped out in orderly fashion. The fat men strutted up and down the road with self-satisfied smiles, their long black hair done up in chignons on the tops of their heads. One of them sailed past at dangerous pace through the crowd, in a jinrickshaw with two gaily dressed coolies harnessed tandem-fashion in front. Everybody made way respectfully. Heads looked out from all the windows. The dignity of the profession of the wrestler was unmistakable.

Between the High Court and the wrestling bo[illegible] is a gulf of a thousand years, which the breaki[illegible] down of the barrier against the European [illegible] enabled the Japanese to bridge in one genera[illegible] Nominally that barrier is still down; but th[illegible] European who has taught Japan the sciences and arts by which she has profited so magnificently no longer finds the opening as practicable as it was. A new phase has begun in which the Japanese people have commenced once more to rely upon themselves alone. They are turning more and more to their ancient wrestling booths. Their borrowed European lawyers have retired, and the amendment of the code of their High Court is left to indigenous hands. If the movement be general, as I believe to be the case, it cannot fail of effect upon the future, for the wrestling is typical of what the race has thought well to evolve when left to its unaided resources. The enormous momentum, which has been borrowed from Europe, will no doubt long continue; but momentum tends to decrease when not continually reinforced. Upon the extent and the frequency with which Japan will consider it necessary to import this reinforcement probably depends her future among the powers that stand for modern civilisation.



AN EMERALD AND SAPPHIRE TRAINING GROUND FOR JAPANESE SEAMEN

CHAPTER XXI

INDIA AS A LEVER IN THE FAR EAST

IN the year 1900, when urgent necessity arose to send troops to the relief of Peking, the South African War was still in progress, and Great Britain was not in a position to undertake an additional campaign in a field so remote as China. The task of relieving the endangered Legation was therefore handed over to the Government of India. Simla responded with a promptitude and efficiency which argued well for her ability to meet Imperial demands of greater scope. Not once, while the lights burned late in the departmental offices under the deodars, did she turn to Pall Mall for help in her preparations. Not once was it even hinted, at all events publicly, that any but an Indian officer should take command of the contingent. Delicate situations arising out of the international character of the undertaking were handled with a tact that had little to learn from the British Foreign Office. Cawnpore and Calcutta factories furnished tents, clothes, boots, saddlery, and ammunition. To-day they could furnish rifles and field guns as well. In the thronged harbours of Calcutta and Bombay the

Indian Marine Department took its pick of Indian merchant steamers for transport. Thirty thousand troops were told off and despatched with all field equipment, and reached the scene of the operations in China at least a month sooner than would have been the case if they had embarked in the English Channel.

The bulk of the force was native, and the regiments were drawn chiefly from the Bombay and Madras commands, in order to give those corps a chance of distinguishing themselves which seldomest see fighting on the Indian frontiers. The regiments of the Punjab command, which are inured to extremes of climate and hardened by border warfare, were scarcely represented. The contingent went from enervating stations in the hot plains of Southern and Western India to the snow and frost of a Chihli winter, yet the white troops of Germany, France and Italy failed to outstay our force upon the march or to surpass it in action. The Indian troops took more than their full share of hardship, and were first inside Peking in the attack in which the operations culminated—an honour attributable to campaigning quality as well as to luck. The health of the Indians was vastly better than that of the Germans. Their discipline was superior to that of any of the Allies, the Japanese alone excepted. Their strength was that which the British Government considered necessary. Had a force three times as large been wanted the demand could have been met. Far from exhaust-

ing the resources of India the expedition laid only small and light toll upon them.

Great Britain paid the cost of the contingent because the Legation which had to be rescued was her own. India would have been fully able to find the money. The gross revenues of its Government exceed eighty million sterling annually. There is little burden of debt for other than such reproductive public works as railways and canals; and surpluses have been so much the rule of late years, in spite of two recent reductions in the rate of taxation, that large military enterprises can be conducted without upsetting the financial equilibrium. It must also be remembered that fighting is the hereditary employment of large sections of the races of the northern provinces. The trade of arms is understood and followed as a profitable calling by men whose ancestors were seldom at peace.

The ability of India to assist Great Britain in the Far East rests upon the sound basis of military preparedness buttressed by financial strength; but the question naturally arises as to how far the British Government is justified in employing that ability. If India were here a mere tool of empire, with no considerable interests of her own to serve, she might be considered to be hardly used by a policy which made her an active participant in Far East affairs; but the contrary is the case. India is affected by Far Eastern conditions almost as closely as Great

Britain. Calcutta and Bombay do a larger trade with China than with any other country except the United Kingdom. The Indian taxpayer is relieved of an annual burden of some three million sterling by the taste of the Chinese for the opium of Patna and Benares. China and Japan are the principal foreign buyers of Deccan cotton goods and Bengal jute. They also take the major portion of Indian fish exports, and afford the principal market for the indigo of Behar. Fleets of steamers owned in Calcutta and Bombay trade between India and the Far East. Indians are employed as police in all the treaty ports of China. An Indian regiment guards British interests at Shan-hai-kwan. Anglo-Indians are engaged in the development of mining, trade, and railway enterprises from Canton to Peking. Members of the Indian Staff Corps and the Indian Medical, Public Works and Survey Departments have been pioneers in exploration throughout the Chinese Empire.

The western border of China marches, for several hundred miles, with the eastern boundary of the Indian Empire; and the establishment of direct railway communication between Rangoon and Shanghai is only a question of time. A well-found British railway, with many feeders, has been built from one end of Burma to the other to connect the principal port on the eastern side of the Bay of Bengal with Mandalay and Myitkyina. At Mandalay a branch has been constructed a hundred

miles in a north-easterly direction to Lashio, near the Chinese border. Another branch is creeping forward further north from Bhamo to Tangyueh; and both are designed to admit of ultimate extension into Chinese territory. The original plans for the Mandalay-Lashio section included an extension to the Kunlan ferry upon the Salween river; but construction was stopped, three years ago, when Lashio had been reached, as the prospects of local trade by this route did not then justify the heavy demand upon the revenues of India involved in further eastern progress. The country between the Burmese frontier and the Yangtse basin is cut up by an almost continuous series of deep gorges which run at right angles to the general direction of the route. This makes railway construction costly but not impossible. The undertaking has been abandoned as a local venture, but could be put through with certainty if it became an Imperial concern.

Military affairs and commercial, shipping, and railway interests do not exhaust the potentialities of India were opportunity available in the Far East. The system pursued in India of giving large powers and much freedom of action to officials has created a body of men prompt of action, skilled in Eastern affairs, and ready to accept responsibility, such as no other country in the world possesses. Administrators, engineers, and judicial, medical, educational, police and scientific officers are available in very large numbers. Enough highly trained servants of the Government of India are upon leave and in

retirement at the present moment to man, if need arose, a Chinese province.

The problems of the Far East of to-day are but new versions of those which India has already solved for herself since she left the stage of not altogether dissimilar political chaos. The men who have been active agents in the one case might be of equal value in the other. Great Britain possesses in India a skilful interpreter, a large partner, and a strong coadjutor in Far Eastern affairs. Her own ability to shape these affairs to advantage depends to a great extent upon her Indian resources, and not only upon those resources, but upon the extent to which she is willing to make use of them. The East is best dealt with by the East, and Great Britain is alone amongst the nations of Europe in owning the means to turn this fact to account.

Intricate political questions involving those Eastern prejudices, bred of diversity of race and conflict of faith, which are so baffling to the Western mind, are handled at Simla with knowledge and experience. The Indian Foreign Office affords efficient help in the conduct of the political relations of Great Britain with Afghanistan, Muscat, and Southern Persia. An arrangement which has proved successful when applied to the Western neighbours of India is not to be neglected so far as it is applicable to the Eastern. It facilitates, within the scope at present prescribed to it, the employment by a democracy of patriarchal methods with

races that most appreciate them. It utilises tried Eastern experience for the solution of Eastern problems and identifies the men upon whom Great Britain must largely rely in trouble with her councillors in peace. The Indian army, a quarter of a million strong, keeps watch upon the road to China. A signal flashed from Simla will change the solitary tramp of sentries into the hum of marching hosts. We have already proved the effectiveness of this striking force. The men who have organised it, who have inspired it with loyalty to Great Britain and made it independent of the British taxpayer, can also be trusted to be responsible and enlightened advisers of the home Government in affairs in which that army must always be the first support.

The trend of political thought in England is gradually but surely unfitting the mother country for direct relations with races unresponsive to the ideals of modern Anglo-Saxondom. The British workman may prove himself in the future a shrewd administrator of his own municipal affairs; but by the time his imperial education is completed he may have lost his valuable Far East markets, if he fails to make use of the expert agency, backed by armed force of its own and removed from party politics, which is available to assist him. Peking is no longer a bear garden of European Legations where the scramble of Continental Powers for Far East concessions had to be frustrated if Great Britain was to hold her own. It has become a mart where the

yellow man in confirmed possession meets the white with every Eastern wile. If Great Britain is to avoid finding herself displaced under these new conditions, she must not neglect the Eastern resources in her control.

No friction has resulted in Southern Persia from co-operation between political officers appointed by the British Foreign Office and others selected by the Government of India and supported by suitable escorts from the Indian army. Similar co-ordination of British and Indian resources, with modification to suit each case, is possible in other parts of the world as well as Persia, and there is no doubt that, if applied in the Far East as opportunity offered, it would tend to augment Anglo-Saxon influence.

No dramatic change in the existing system is suggested, but occasion for such co-ordination should be taken as it might arise. At the moment, Great Britain needs additional agents to represent her interests in Manchurian and other centres that are in course of being thrown open to international commerce. She could well ask the Government of India to supply them. Indian trade upon the Yangtse river, again, is sufficiently extensive to justify the appointment of Anglo-Indians to foster it in stations where consular officers are not already located.

The Oriental pays little attention to what he does not see. At present the only representatives of Great Britain, known in hundreds of stations in China, are missionaries, who are neither intended

nor equipped to support the political interests of their fellow-countrymen. The more numerous and widely distributed the accredited agents of a nation the greater will be its prestige. British prestige may stand higher than that of any other European Power in the Far East and yet be the better for even small additional support; and that which India is able to lend is very far from inconsiderable.

The lending of consular officers is not the only service which India is capable of performing. Comparatively recently a former head of the Indian Foreign Office was given diplomatic charge in Teheran, and later on in Washington. It would be more to the purpose if such promotion were to lead to Shanghai and Peking.

It is no new thing for the Far East to lean upon India. A religion which Chinese and Japanese alike profess was imported from Western Bengal, where Buddha lived and preached two thousand years ago. In the ages since Sanskrit was the learned language of Asia, the Mongolian has borrowed from the Indian in literature, in philosophy, and in art. The worship of ancestors, the race diet of rice and fish, the fire drill used in Shinto temples, and fables current in both China and Japan, are said to be traceable to the teaching of Indian sutras. If influence exercised from India should hereafter become prominent in Far Eastern affairs, it will be but the restoration of a connection suggested by history, approved by existing tradition, and supported by the sentiment of the past.

CHAPTER XXII

THE OUTLOOK

THE new fact from which all inference must proceed, is that the situation in the Far East has resolved itself, since the Russo-Japanese War, into a question of difficulties and dangers arising from the peoples of the Far East and from no one else. These difficulties and dangers can be associated only with Japan and China, which are now masters of the fate of the Mongolian race. So much stands clear.

Japan has become one of the Great Powers, though still poor, and not possessed of that vast population which renders the potentialities of China so overwhelming. The unaided martial energy of the forty-five million subjects of the Mikado, however well directed, need never upset the equilibrium of the world. Japan must exercise rigid economy for another ten years to wipe off the burden of financial indebtedness imposed upon her by war with Russia. She has undertaken a heavy and protracted task in the government of Korea. Her administration of Formosa, though successful after

a long period of costly friction and rebuff, puts a serious drain upon her manhood. The Japanese entertain an entirely legitimate ambition to become the England of the Far East, and to beat European nations in their own arts of industry and commerce. They are pressing forward in this direction persistently. Their achievements are great and their possibilities are greater, though limited in many ways. Their aims are not altruistic, and their commercial methods are open to objection; but they remain capable of combining efficiently with Great Britain and America in the one thing essential, which is the maintenance of open markets in China.

Japan has attained uneasy eminence. Her success in curbing the aggression of Russia in Manchuria is resented by the whole of Continental Europe with a bitterness of race feeling which is shared by the Germans, Frenchmen, Belgians, and Russians, who collectively outnumber the British in most of the treaty ports of China. Twelve years ago Germany and France combined with Russia to rob Japan of the fruits of her victories over China. They would do the same now if opportunity offered. They watch Japan with a jealousy which allows no slip, however trifling, to escape attention, and the attitude of Great Britain alone prevents active manifestation of hostility. The Japanese fully realise the nature of the situation. They have shattered, after prolonged efforts which have strained the capabilities of their country to the utmost, that

portion of the might of Russia which the rolling-stock of a single line of rails was able to carry to the Far East across the wilds of Siberia; but their leaders recognise, with characteristic directness, both the small extent of Japanese resources and the special nature of the circumstances which enabled them to prevail.

The single mistake fairly chargeable to the Japanese is, as we have seen, a serious one. They have allowed themselves to be carried away by popular exaltation, in the hour of victory, into disregarding the spirit of their treaty engagements in Manchuria and Korea. It has been shown in an earlier chapter that European merchants, including those of Great Britain and America, find their transactions hampered and those of their Japanese competitors unduly favoured in Seoul and Mukden. Complaints are loud-voiced. Japanese traders have been allowed to import their goods into Manchuria *viâ* Dalny, where they have paid no duty, for a full year, during which Europeans could enter only *viâ* Neuchwang, where import duties had to be paid. This appears to be now under rectification; but the rates upon the railways in the new territory, which are all in Japanese hands, are still complained of as designed to favour the Japanese at the expense of the foreigner. The silk-cocoon trade between China and Antung, which was once done by Europeans, has passed to the Japanese; and other traffic is threatened. The grievance is real, and is not the less deserving of

notice because natural of occurrence and easy to make allowance for after the events of the war. Grave complications are liable to result if the attitude adopted by Japan in act, though not in profession, be persisted in; but it is not too late for the trouble to be dealt with adequately by friendly diplomatic action. The Japanese profess that they have no intention of breaking their engagements, and they realise clearly that their need to avoid national isolation outweighs altogether such material advantage as is to be derived from displacing Anglo-Saxon and other European trade.

The Japanese are not exclusively to blame in the matter. Great Britain has helped to bring the difficulty upon herself, by failure to appoint sufficient consuls to look after the interests of her subjects in the outlying cities of the vast mainland territories which are now under Japanese influence. This is especially the case in the rich plains of Northern Manchuria, which have possibilities of agricultural and mining development second only to those of the new provinces of North-Western Canada. The United States have been somewhat more alive to their interests in this respect; but both countries may direct attention to the matter with advantage. Both are well represented in Neuchwang and Seoul; but both should possess additional agents of ability inland, and should support them vigorously.

Difficulty is not confined to Manchuria and Korea. The European resents the position to which he finds himself relegated in Japan, where he

is welcome only if he be a tourist with money to spend in the country, and is hampered at every point if he tries to make a living for himself; but he has no sustainable grievance here. Japan has won the right to dispose absolutely of her own possessions; and European influence is amply sufficient to insure reasonable definition of what those possessions include.

It is easy to threaten Great Britain with ghosts of Hengist and Horsa because her ally, Japan, has won, in her own interests, a series of splendid victories which are of great utility to the Empire. Such ghosts will take to themselves bones and flesh with absolute certainty the day that British naval efficiency is neglected or the army of India is allowed to fall into decay; but they are comparatively harmless vapours so long as no such national suicide be committed. Hengist and Horsa would never have turned upon their allies had those allies been of fighting stock and equivalently armed. Whatever our Oriental friendships, the fate of the ancient Briton is not yet written on the forehead of the Anglo-Saxon.

The Government of Japan is still upon an aristocratic basis, and the representatives of the fighting Samurai remain in practical, though no longer professed authority. Should the democracy prevail, hereafter, and an influential labour party become a permanent feature of the Tokyo Parliament, the situation would tend to become less and not more acute, since the proportion of the national income

voted for the furtherance of an aggressive foreign policy would be reduced. In any case, however, minor sources of friction between the Anglo-Saxon and the Japanese will continue to exist. There is no smoothing away the racial antipathies of independent and intensely self-reliant peoples belonging to totally different branches of the human family long isolated from each other. Even those white men who have spent the greater part of their lives in Japan, who have studied the language and the customs of the country, and allied themselves with it, in the closest personal manner, by contracting permanent and fully recognised marriages with Japanese ladies belonging to cultivated and influential families, find themselves often aloof from the point of view of the Japanese amongst whom they live. The difficulties which they encounter upon a small scale are not unlike those which confront the British and American Governments upon a large scale, in relations with Tokyo.

Unfortunate incidents, such as have arisen during the past autumn, between Americans and Japanese in the Pribyloffs and in California, are certain to recur and to increase the strain; but each side is capable of making sufficient allowance for the idiosyncrasies of the other to enable effectual co-operation to continue in the main lines of policy that govern the affairs of the Far East. Community of interest makes ever a reliable bond. The much-advertised theory that Japan is supplying nerves and brain to the inert corpus of China, with

a view to arraying it against the white man, can easily be pushed further than the situation justifies.

The Chinese are borrowing European sciences and arts second-hand from Japan, but they are also borrowing them first-hand from Europe. The source adopted is largely determined by considerations of price. A Japanese vogue was created in China by the success of Japan over Russia, but this is already decreasing, the Japanese article proving deficient in both quantity and quality, yet asking scarcity rates. The Japanese has an advantage over the European in understanding the Chinese, because of his racial relationship; but I have found no indication that he is anywhere acquiring any special ascendency on this account. On the contrary, his failure to hand back Korea to China is confirming his old unpopularity. Neither individually nor nationally is he in a position to play the injurious part that has been suggested for him. He will do in China the best he can for himself; but this need not cause alarm at present to anybody else. There is every reason to suppose that Japan will remain the valued ally of Great Britain, and her splendid achievements in the life-and-death struggle, from which she has emerged so magnificently, will probably not be obscured by sustainable charges of subsequent broken faith.

The Chinese factor is more complex. If racial characteristics, hitherto potent in keeping the yellow man in subordination to the white, were no longer operative, the future would cause well-

founded anxiety for the world in general as well as for the Far East; but the changes which are in progress do not go so deep. Western virility cannot be assumed with clothes and learning. Moral qualities have to be inherited to stand the test of trial. The imitation does not wear like the original. Modern Chinese civilisation and progress have all the inherent weaknesses of exotics. Growth may be vigorous, but the yield will not be in proportion to the standing size of the crop.

The gravest feature of the situation is that China is arming; and that she means to become a world-power equivalently equipped and vastly larger than Japan. The menace of the outlook centres upon the seventy thousand mauser-armed troops, which Yuan-Shih-Kai has brought into being in Northern China. This large force is far more efficient than anything Chinese of its kind that has ever existed before; and it is liable to increase in size indefinitely, if nothing be done to check its growth; but it has certain features which limit its capabilities. It may be drilled, organised, and armed as well as European troops, though some of the incidents of the recent manœuvres in the Honan province, in which twenty-four thousand men, including some of the best corps from Paotingfu, Tientsin, Shantung, and Peking took part, do not indicate that this is yet the case.

The following are extracts from a telegram, dated October 23, 1906, published by the London *Times*, from its correspondent in Peking, who is one of the closest students of military affairs in China:—

"The general opinion formed at the manœuvres by the military attachés was not unfavourable, though many years' work towards uniformity without official jobbery will be needed before the troops can claim equality with those of more advanced nations. The inefficiency of the officers is still conspicuous, and the field training of men is still inadequate, but the material is good. There was little confusion, discipline was satisfactory, and the men showed improved military bearing. Incidents occurred which, if repeated in war, would be disastrous. The spectacle of two contending forces blazing at each other while standing in close formation at sixty yards' distance suggested methods of warfare more suitable to the bow-and-arrow period than to that of the modern rifle, though the noise of the fusillade was highly gratifying to the Chinese spectators.

"Practically all the forces engaged had been instructed by Japanese officers, of whom twelve on each side, dressed in Chinese uniform with queues, took a prominent part, Colonel Ugata acting as chief of the staff to Chang-piao, commanding the Southern Army, and Colonel Banzai being chief military adviser to Tuan Chi-jui, commanding the Northern Army. What would have happened had the Japanese been absent is a question easily answered. What will happen to this newly-formed army, whose early stages we are

witnessing, when the strong arm of Yuan-Shih-Kai ceases to control them is not so easy to conjecture."

The Chinese soldier may be prepared to meet death at his post, provided it comes to him in the precise guise in which he has been trained to await it, and not in some unexpected form ; but he remains Chinese in enterprise, in resourcefulness, and in spirit. Travellers in the interior of China are familiar with a condition of abject terror of the unknown, upon the part of their Chinese servants, which no amount of military training can eradicate. The European is able to understand the low esteem in which the Japanese hold the Chinese when he sees for himself grown Chinese men refusing to leave the inside of a mule-cart for days together because the route taken happens to lie through a region where highway robbery is liable to occur.

The Manchurians were despised by both the Russians and the Japanese during the late war for their lack of fighting quality, yet I have heard of two hundred and fifty Manchurian Hunchuses repulsing, with seventy casualties, a thousand modern-armed Chinese troops in the province where the bulk of Yuan-Shih-Kai's much vaunted army is recruited. The Manchurians, on their way to attack the Chinese on this occasion, passed through a village in which some British and German travellers were resting. They announced, on their arrival, that they had no particular quarrel with the white man, and they advised the British

to stop with them, on the ground that this would be the safest course, but said they would not make themselves responsible for the Germans. The British accordingly stopped and were well treated. The Germans moved on. Little doubt seems to have been felt beforehand, by those who were present, that the Chinese would get the worst of the fight that was to follow, and the expected happened. Yet the Chinese troops were fair samples of the force for which such extensive achievement has been prophesied.

An incident, described to me by an eye-witness, at a large military station in North China is also *àpropos*. A force of modern Chinese troops detrained on the railway platform for the night, intending to resume their journey on the following day. Orders had been issued that the men should not go into the bazars. The Chinese officer in charge had barely reminded his men of this prohibition when he saw one of them sneaking away round the corner, in direct defiance of his authority. He ran after the delinquent, seized him by the hair, dragged him back and kicked him soundly from one end of the platform to the other, in the sight of all his comrades. The soldier received his chastisement with howls of pain, and nothing further was heard of the incident. It struck no Chinese present that there was anything improper in the occurrence. Yet this soldier remains in the ranks, and is expected hereafter to possess the respect for his officers and himself which

shall enable him to bear himself courageously in the face of the enemies of his country.

The now disbanded Chinese regiment, which was raised by British officers at Wei-hai-Wei, has shown another weak point in the Chinese soldier. The men who could be induced to remain in the corps proved reliable enough in the operations in 1900 for the relief of Peking, in which they were employed; but the difficulty of preventing their deserting was always very considerable. A soldier would learn his drill conscientiously, but would be found some morning to have disappeared, leaving in many cases his uniform, rifle, and arrears of pay behind. It was supposed at first that the deserters had been attracted by promises of better remuneration in the national Chinese army, but this proves not to have been at all generally the case. Indeed, those who slipped away from the British corps in order to join the Chinese forces rarely remained long in their new employment. As a rule the reason of their desertion was nothing more than the caprice, superstition or prejudice of relatives in the interior, who would send a sudden summons, appealing to filial or family piety, which no sense of military obligation could withstand. Deserters could not be arrested in their homes in distant provinces; and the evil grew to such magnitude as to necessitate the training of a disproportionate number of men in order to keep the corps up to the strength prescribed. This source of weakness has not been confined to the British service or to times of disturbance. It is

equally if not more prevalent in the armies of the Chinese Government which are recruited from similar classes to those employed in the Wei-hai-Wei corps, but with smaller pay, slacker discipline, and less tactful handling.

The Chinese is a man of peace. As a trader and a manufacturer he is certain to become an increasingly serious competitor of the European. As a soldier he possesses many merits, including that of passive fatalism, which makes him a difficult adversary to dislodge from a position; but he lacks altogether the *élan* which makes his fellow-Mongolians, the Gurkha and the Japanese, formidable on the offensive.

No opinion on the subject of the efficiency of the twentieth-century army of China carries greater weight than that of Colonel A. W. S. Wingate, who was intelligence officer with General Gaselee's force at the relief of Peking in 1900, and has since been engaged in survey and exploration in Northern China. In the course of a lecture delivered before the Royal Geographical Society in London, last December, Colonel Wingate said of the Chinese soldiers of to-day: "At learning drill, manœuvres, military exercises, and all about modern warfare they are adepts. Under favourable conditions, they quickly acquire the proficiency and accuracy of the German Imperial Guard on the parade ground; while at examinations for fitness for command, or at military sketching, reconnaissance, &c., they soon learn to excel. What they lack individually

is the will to fight for what, hitherto, has been to them an incomprehensible object. As an army their fighting value is still inconsiderable, because of divided interests and the corrupt and inefficient way in which an excellent system is worked."

The present Chinese army is useless for the protection of the country from outside aggression. The real strength, which has put an end to the predatory enterprises of Continental Europe upon Chinese territory, is to be found solely in the forces of the British Empire and Japan. The Chinese troops have been organised to bolster up the ambitions of particular Chinese viceroys. They are not even suitable for police work. On the other hand, they constitute a real and ever-present menace to the Europeans resident in China. They are liable to be used at any time, at the bidding of petty spite or imagined grievance, to indulge the strong anti-foreign feeling which is always close below the surface in an excitable populace.

The mandarin armed, even to the not very advanced point of efficiency requisite to convince his easily satisfied vanity that he is invincible, is highly dangerous. The severe lesson which the Allies taught the Peking Administration in 1900, as to the ability of the white man to avenge unprovoked and murderous attack upon himself and his Legations, is becoming effaced by the blustering self-confidence of the modern-drilled Chinese soldiery. The boycott of American goods in Canton, the Shanghai riot, the attempt made by the Chinese Foreign

Office during the past autumn to obtain the control of the Chinese customs, the more astute and more recent campaign against British-Indian trade, under the guise of a crusade to abolish the undoubted evils of the Chinese opium habit, and the determination that is growing in the minds of the officials of every yamen in China to supplant European enterprise in local railway, mining, commercial, and industrial undertakings, all possess a background in which the patriotic Chinese is taught to imagine conquering hosts of his own fellow-countrymen stamping upon the white man with hob-nailed boots. The European does profitable business in China only because the Chinese do not possess rifles and men to turn him out. The armies which are growing up threaten, sooner or later, to remove this inability.

Again and again in the past the armaments of China have been turned against the European. Nothing has occurred to render the future immune from repetition of the events of the years 1899–1900 when white men were murdered by Chinese soldiers in the streets of Peking, and Chinese artillery was turned upon white women and children in Mukden. The larger and more efficient the armaments the sooner may trouble be expected to recur, and the more serious will it be. China cannot absorb too much of European sciences, learning, and art; but quick-firing guns are not necessary for this purpose, and are as undesirable playthings for the mandarin, in the present imperfect stage

of his national development, as loaded revolvers would be in a kindergarten. Only he who would abstain from taking the revolver from the baby need hesitate as to the proper course to be followed in regard to guns in China.

There is nothing new in this statement. The agreement between the Allies and the Peking Government, signed September 7, 1901, after the Boxer rising, contains the following formal stipulation:—

"China has agreed to prohibit the importation into its territory of arms and ammunition, as well as of materials exclusively used for the manufacture of arms and ammunition. An Imperial Edict has been issued on August 25, 1901 (Annex No. II.), forbidding the said importation for a term of two years. New edicts may be issued subsequently extending this by other successive terms of two years in case of necessity recognised by the Powers."

It seems to me impossible to deny that the contingency contemplated in this stipulation has arisen, though it may not be technically accurate, as yet, to claim "necessity recognised by the Powers" as one of its attributes. I am aware that to press for the carrying out of any arrangement agreed to by the Chinese Government, at present, is to rouse opposition, and that to press in this particular matter is to provoke the retort that it is the accepted policy of Great Britain to support and not to weaken the forces available for resisting the

aggression of Continental Europe upon Chinese territory. The difficulties found in enforcing the prohibition of gun-running after the Boxer rising will be quoted as a further objection. The controversy is an old one; but the fact that a decision was arrived at in 1902 to allow Chinese armament to go on unchecked, does not prove that it is either safe or desirable to persist in this attitude, under the entirely changed conditions which have since arisen.

Great Britain and her ally Japan succeeded in putting a stop to the process of dismemberment at a time when the armed strength of the Chinese Government was still a negligible quantity, and they need no help from China to keep up this desirable state of things. The difficulty of enforcing the prohibition against the arms trade may be even greater at this stage than in 1902; but something appreciable can still be done.

Fortunately, the control of the Chinese customs, though threatened, has not yet been completely wrested from the capable hands of Sir Robert Hart and his European assistants. The Chinese customs officials can do a great deal in the desired direction if they receive the necessary authority to act. Even if they fail, there need be no insurmountable obstacle in the way of making gun-running as penal in Chinese waters as it is already on the Arabian side of the Persian Gulf, where patrol by European war-vessels is no more complete than off the Chinese coast. The arms trade in China is conducted, almost entirely, by European firms in

Tientsin, Shanghai, and Hongkong. I believe that the traffic has only to be declared contraband in Treaty and British ports to effect an appreciable lessening of its present large dimensions. Importations would continue clandestinely, as they continued during the short period, subsequent to the Boxer disturbances, when prohibition was in operation; but the supply would become costly to an extent that would appreciably reduce the demand. The existing gun factories in China would continue to turn out enormous quantities of poorly made and increasingly obsolete mausers and Krupp guns.

The requirements of all the troops which the Chinese maintain would be amply met, so far as quantity was concerned; but the standard of capability for evil would be kept down, since up-to-date factories in Europe and America would find it no longer profitable to vie with each other in pouring into China, at dumping rates, not only rifles and quick-firing guns of far greater efficiency than the Chinese arsenals can produce, but also steel castings to be worked up, in China, into yet more rifles and guns, and machinery to enable still further Chinese factories to be started. The intention, which I found openly professed in the Chinese rifle factories at Shanghai and Hanyang, to introduce electric plant to manufacture the 1899 model mauser, in place of the less efficient mauser of 1888, and shells with time instead of percussion fuses, is an example in point. No doubt complications and friction would arise in carrying out any scheme

of prohibition, but these could be kept within bounds; and even a low degree of efficiency in prevention, combined with some political friction, would be better than avoidance of friction combined with no prevention at all.

Every European Power which trades, or hopes to trade, in the Far East, is interested in discouraging Chinese armament. If Great Britain leads the way in pressing for reduction, there will be no lack of a following. The United States have interests similar to those of this country, and should co-operate cordially. It is reasonable to feel confidence that Japan will support her ally. Once the accord of the three Powers which have guaranteed the integrity of China were secured, action would be possible. Chinese objection to such action need not be regarded too seriously The Oriental ever respects strength; and a temperate but firm policy has only to be pursued steadfastly to be tolerated, if not approved. Procrastination is interpreted as weakness, and does only harm.

Apart from dangers connected with armament, the Chinese outlook is not discouraging. Germans, Japanese, and Belgians are capturing an ever-growing share in the trade; but Great Britain still does a larger proportion than any other power. Japan has succeeded, by means of a high tariff against the foreigner, in closing her own markets, and those of her dependency, Formosa, against most of the manufactures of Europe; but the vast markets of China absorb more goods than ever

before. It has become customary for the Englishman in the Far East to lament over the lagging enterprise of his fellow-countrymen as compared with that of their competitors in energy and adaptability; but this need not cause anxiety while British steamers equipped like those of Messrs. Jardine, Matheson and Company and Messrs. Butterfield and Swire, continue to do the bulk of the coasting trade of the treaty ports, and so long as the Peninsula and Oriental Steam Navigation Company still takes first place in the ocean-carrying trade between China and Europe, while a British house—the Hongkong and Shanghai Bank—negotiates the Chinese Government loans, and British cable companies transmit the intelligence of everything of importance in the Far East to the world at large. The Chinese trader continues to learn pigeon-English, and not pigeon-German or pigeon-Japanese, to be his means of communication with non-Chinese-speaking British, Germans, and Japanese alike. German and Japanese traders may be apter than their British competitors at acquiring a smattering of the difficult Chinese tongue; but it is possible to lay too much stress upon this qualification, since the test of success is not the language spoken but the amount of business done; and in this both Germans and Japanese are behind. Competition is increasing in every branch of Chinese trade, but substantial profits can still be made. British prestige still stands higher than that of any other nation.

China is undoubtedly following in the footsteps of Japan, and her development may be the world-achievement of the present century. For the time being, her administration is corrupt and inefficient, though there are already some notable exceptions; and real patriotism is behind the movement of reform. The Chinese trader is honest, and the Chinese official is capable of becoming so. Progress will be slow or fast according to the accident of the views which prevail in the Forbidden City; but it is certain.

In the discernible future the white man is likely to find that a high tariff hedge, with many prickles, has sprung up between his trade and the Chinese market, as has already occurred in the case of Japan; but such catastrophe can be postponed long, and perhaps indefinitely, by energetic action. The pan-Mongolian dragon, which now snorts threateningly, can be harnessed to the chariot of peaceful progress, but will do grave damage if left at large.

The possession of India confers upon Great Britain a position of unique advantage in regard to the Far East. I have shown how closely the interests of the Indian subjects of His Majesty King Edward are concerned with those of China and Japan, and how useful to the Empire the services which Simla and Calcutta are both able and willing to render in this sphere. Great Britain has but to encourage these services, while herself acting with ordinary tact and resolution in the

support of her own vast trade, and she may regard the outlook with serenity. The dangers which threaten are no worse than those which Englishmen have met and overcome before.

Friendliness and respect for one another are not impossible between European and Mongolian peoples. Canton has the worst reputation of any city of the Far East for antipathy to the occidental, yet in the temple of the five hundred Genii, in the heart of Canton, within easy reach of mob violence at any time, may be seen to-day the life-sized statue of an elderly European in gilt clothes and black hat, which the Chinese have cared for and preserved from generation to generation because the original, Marco Polo, was a friend to their kind. This thirteenth-century wanderer had no monopoly of ability to make himself loved and reverenced. A position similar to that which he won as an individual is open to-day to the Anglo-Saxon as a race. But the Mongolian was not afraid of Marco Polo, and he is afraid of us to the point of hostility and defiance. It can be attained, therefore, only by fair dealing and sympathy, protected by an overwhelming preponderance of fighting strength.

APPENDIX

THE ANGLO-JAPANESE TREATY

The following is the text of the Agreement between the United Kingdom and Japan, signed at London, August 12 1905:—

PREAMBLE.—The Governments of Great Britain and Japan, being desirous of replacing the Agreement concluded between them on January 30, 1902, by fresh stipulations, have agreed upon the following Articles which have for their object—

(*a*) The consolidation and maintenance of the general peace in the regions of Eastern Asia and of India;

(*b*) The preservation of the common interests of all Powers in China by insuring the independence and integrity of the Chinese Empire and the principle of equal opportunities for the commerce and industry of all nations in China;

(*c*) The maintenance of the territorial rights of the High Contracting Parties in the regions of Eastern Asia and of India, and the defence of their special interests in the said regions:—

ARTICLE I.—It is agreed that whenever, in the opinion of either Great Britain or Japan, any of the rights and interests referred to in the preamble of this Agreement are in jeopardy, the two Governments will communicate with one another fully and frankly, and will consider in

common the measures which should be taken to safeguard those menaced rights or interests.

ARTICLE II.—If by reason of unprovoked attack or aggressive action, wherever arising, on the part of any other Power or Powers either Contracting Party should be involved in war in defence of its territorial rights or special interests mentioned in the preamble of this Agreement, the other Contracting Party will at once come to the assistance of its ally, and will conduct the war in common, and make peace in mutual agreement with it.

ARTICLE III.—Japan possessing paramount political, military, and economic interests in Corea, Great Britain recognises the right of Japan to take such measures of guidance, control, and protection in Corea as she may deem proper and necessary to safeguard and advance those interests, provided always that such measures are not contrary to the principle of equal opportunities for the commerce and industry of all nations.

ARTICLE IV.—Great Britain having a special interest in all that concerns the security of the Indian frontier, Japan recognises her right to take such measures in the proximity of that frontier as she may find necessary for safeguarding her Indian possessions.

ARTICLE V.—The High Contracting Parties agree that neither of them will, without consulting the other, enter into separate arrangements with another Power to the prejudice of the objects described in the preamble of this Agreement.

ARTICLE VI.—As regards the present war between Japan and Russia, Great Britain will continue to maintain strict neutrality unless some other Power or Powers should join in hostilities against Japan, in which case Great Britain will come to the assistance of Japan, and will conduct the war in common, and make peace in mutual agreement with Japan.

ARTICLE VII.—The conditions under which armed assistance shall be afforded by either Power to the other in the circumstances mentioned in the present Agreement, and the means by which such assistance is to be made available, will be arranged by the Naval and Military authorities of the Contracting Parties, who will from time to time consult one another fully and freely upon all questions of mutual interest.

ARTICLE VIII.—The present Agreement shall, subject to the provisions of Article VI., come into effect immediately after the date of its signature, and remain in force for ten years from that date.

In case neither of the High Contracting Parties should have notified twelve months before the expiration of the said ten years the intention of terminating it, it shall remain binding until the expiration of one year from the day on which either of the High Contracting Parties shall have denounced it. But if, when the date fixed for its expiration arrives, either ally is actually engaged in war, the alliance shall, *ipso facto*, continue until peace is concluded.

In faith whereof the Undersigned, duly authorised by their respective Governments, have signed this Agreement and have affixed thereto their Seals.

Done in duplicate at London, the 12th day of August, 1905. (L.S) LANSDOWNE, *His Britannic Majesty's Principal Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs.* (L.S.) TADASU HAYASHI, *Envoy Extraordinary and Minister Plenipotentiary of His Majesty the Emperor of Japan at the Court of St. James.*

THE PORTSMOUTH TREATY

The following is the text of the treaty between Japan and Russia which terminated the war of 1904–5:—

The Emperor of Japan on one part and the Emperor of All the Russias on the other part, animated by a desire to restore the blessings of peace to their countries, have resolved to conclude a treaty of peace and have for this purpose named their plenipotentiaries, that is to say, for his Majesty the Emperor of Japan, Baron Komura Jutaro Jusami, Grand Cordon of the Imperial Order of the Rising Sun, his minister of foreign affairs, and his Excellency Takahira, Kogoro, Imperial Order of the Sacred Treasure, his minister to the United States, and, for his Majesty the Emperor of All the Russias, his Excellency Serge Witte, his secretary of state and president of the Committee of Ministers of the Empire of Russia, and his Excellency Báron Roman Rosen, Master of the Imperial Court of Russia, his Majesty's ambassador to the United States, who, after having exchanged their full powers, which were found to be in good and due form, have concluded the following articles:

ARTICLE I.—There shall henceforth be peace and amity between their Majesties the Emperor of Japan and the Emperor of All the Russias and between their respective States and subjects.

ARTICLE II.—The Imperial Russian Government acknowledging that Japan possesses in Korea paramount

political, military, and economical interests, engages neither to obstruct nor interfere with measures for guidance, protection, and control which the Imperial Government of Japan may find necessary to take in Korea. It is understood that Russian subjects in Korea shall be treated in exactly the same manner as the subjects and citizens of other foreign Powers, that is to say they shall be placed on the same footing as the subjects and citizens of the most favoured nation. It is also agreed, in order to avoid causes of misunderstanding, that the two high contracting parties will abstain on the Russian-Korean frontier from taking any military measure which may menace the security of Russian or Korean territory.

ARTICLE III.—Japan and Russia mutually engage,

First.—To evacuate completely and simultaneously Manchuria, except the territory affected by the lease of the Liaotung Peninsula, in conformity with the provisions of the additional Article I. annexed to this treaty; and

Second.—To restore entirely and completely to the exclusive administration of China all the portions of Manchuria now in occupation or under the control of the Japanese or Russian Troops, with the exception of the territory above mentioned.

The Imperial Government of Russia declare that they have not in Manchuria any territorial advantages or preferential or exclusive concessions in the impairment of Chinese sovereignty, or inconsistent with the principle of equal opportunity.

ARTICLE IV.—Japan and Russia reciprocally engage not to obstruct any general measures common to all countries which China may take for the development of the commerce or industry of Manchuria.

ARTICLE V.—The Imperial Russian Government transfers and assigns to the Imperial Government of Japan, with the consent of the Government of China, the lease

of Port Arthur, Talien, and the adjacent territory and territorial waters, and all rights, privileges, and concessions connected with or forming part of such lease, and they also transfer and assign to the Imperial Government of Japan all public works and properties in the territory affected by the above-mentioned lease. The two contracting parties mutually engage to obtain the consent of the Chinese Government mentioned in the foregoing stipulation. The Imperial Government of Japan on their part undertake that the proprietary rights of Russian subjects in the territory above referred to shall be perfectly respected.

ARTICLE VI.—The Imperial Russian Government engage to transfer and assign to the Imperial Government of Japan without compensation and with the consent of the Chinese Government the railway between Chang-chun-fu and Kuan-chang-tsu and Port Arthur and all the branches, together with all the rights, privileges, and properties appertaining thereto in that region, as well as all the coal-mines in the said region belonging to or worked for the benefit of the railway. The two high contracting parties mutually engage to obtain the consent of the Government of China mentioned in the foregoing stipulation.

ARTICLE VII.—Japan and Russia engage to exploit their respective railways in Manchuria exclusively for commercial and industrial purposes, and in no wise for strategic purposes. It is understood that this restriction does not apply to the railway in the territory affected by the lease of the Liaotung Peninsula.

ARTICLE VIII.—The Imperial Governments of Japan and Russia, with the view to promote and facilitate intercourse and traffic, will, as soon as possible, conclude separate convention for the regulation of their connecting railway services in Manchuria.

ARTICLE IX.—The Imperial Russian Government cedes to the Imperial Government of Japan in perpetuity and full sovereignty the southern portion of the Island of Saghalien, and all the islands adjacent thereto, and the public works and properties thereon. The fiftieth degree of north latitude is adopted as the northern boundary of the ceded territory. The exact alignment of such territory shall be determined in accordance with the provisions of the additional Article XI. annexed to this treaty. Japan and Russia mutually agree not to construct in their respective possessions on the Island of Saghalien, or the adjacent islands, any fortifications or other similar military works. They also respectively engage not to take any military measures which may impede the free navigation of the Strait of La Perouse and the Strait of Tartary.

ARTICLE X.—It is reserved to Russian subjects, inhabitants of the territory ceded to Japan, to sell their real property and retire to their country, but if they prefer to remain in the ceded territory they will be maintained and protected in the full exercise of their industries and rights of property, on condition of submitting to the Japanese laws and jurisdiction. Japan shall have full liberty to withdraw the right of residence in, or to deport from such territory any inhabitants who labour under political or administrative disability. She engages, however, that the proprietary rights of such inhabitants shall be fully respected.

ARTICLE XI.—Russia engages to arrange with Japan for granting to Japanese subjects rights of fishery along the coasts of the Russian possessions in the Japan, Okhotsk, and Behring Seas. It is agreed that the foregoing engagement shall not affect rights already belonging to Russian or foreign subjects in those regions.

ARTICLE XII.—The treaty of commerce and navigation between Japan and Russia having been annulled by the

war, the Imperial Governments of Japan and Russia engage to adopt as a basis for their commercial relations, pending the conclusion of a new treaty of commerce and navigation, the basis of the treaty which was in force previous to the present war, the system of reciprocal treatment on the footing of the most favoured nation, in which are included import and export duties, customs, formalities, transit, and tonnage dues, and the admission and treatment of agents, subjects, and vessels of one country in the territories of the other.

ARTICLE XIII.—So soon as possible after the present treaty comes in force all prisoners of war shall be reciprocally restored. The Imperial Governments of Japan and Russia shall each appoint a special commissioner to take charge of the prisoners. All prisoners in the hands of one Government shall be delivered to and received by the commissioner of the other Government or by his duly authorised representative in such convenient numbers and such convenient ports of the delivering State as such delivering State shall notify in advance to the commissioner of the receiving State. The Governments of Japan and Russia shall present each other so soon as possible after the delivery of the prisoners is completed with a statement of the direct expenditures respectively incurred by them for the care and maintenance of the prisoners from the date of capture or surrender and up to the time of death or delivery. Russia engages to repay to Japan so soon as possible after the exchange of statements as above provided the difference between the actual amount so expended by Japan and the actual amount similarly disbursed by Russia.

ARTICLE XIV.—The present treaty shall be ratified by their Majesties the Emperor of Japan and the Emperor of All the Russias. Such ratification shall be with as little delay as possible and in any case no later than fifty

days from the date of the signature of the treaty, to be announced to the Imperial Governments of Japan and Russia respectively through the French Minister at Tokyo and the Ambassador of the United States at St. Petersburg, and from the date of the later of such announcements this treaty shall in all its parts come into full force. The formal exchange of ratifications shall take place at Washington so soon as possible.

ARTICLE XV.—The present treaty shall be signed in duplicate in both the English and French languages. The texts are in absolute conformity, but in case of a discrepancy in the interpretation the French text shall prevail.

In conformity with the provisions of Articles III. and IX. of the treaty of peace between Japan and Russia of this date, the undersigned plenipotentiaries have concluded the following additional articles:

Sub-Article to Article III.—The Imperial Governments of Japan and Russia mutually engage to commence the withdrawal of their military forces from the territory of Manchuria simultaneously and immediately after the treaty of peace comes into operation, and within a period of eighteen months after that date the armies of the two countries shall be completely withdrawn from Manchuria, except from the leased territory of the Liaotung Peninsula. The forces of the two countries occupying the front positions shall first be withdrawn.

The high contracting parties reserve to themselves the right to maintain guards to protect their respective railway lines in Manchuria. The number of such guards shall not exceed fifteen per kilometre, and within that maximum number the commanders of the Japanese and Russian armies shall by common accord fix the number of such guards to be employed as small as possible while having in view the actual requirements.

The commanders of the Japanese and Russian forces in

Manchuria shall agree upon the details of the evacuation in conformity with the above principles, and shall take by common accord the measures necessary to carry out the evacuation so soon as possible, and in any case no later than the period of eighteen months.

Sub-Article to Article IX.—So soon as possible after the present treaty comes into force, a commission of delimitation composed of an equal number of members is to be appointed respectively by the two high contracting parties, which shall on the spot mark in a permanent manner the exact boundary between the Japanese and Russian possessions on the island of Saghalien. The commission shall be bound so far as topographical considerations permit to follow the fiftieth parallel of North latitude as the boundary line, and, in case any deflections from that line at any points are found to be necessary, compensation will be made by correlative deflections at other points. It shall also be the duty of said commission to prepare a list and a description of the adjacent islands included in the cession, and finally the commission shall prepare and sign maps showing the boundaries of the ceded territory. The work of the commission shall be subject to the approval of the high contracting parties.

The foregoing additional articles are to be considered ratified with the ratification of the treaty of peace to which they are annexed.

Portsmouth, the Fifth Day of the Ninth Month of the Thirty-eighth year of Meiji, corresponding to the Twenty-third of August, 1905. (September 5, 1905.)

In witness whereof the respective plenipotentiaries have signed and affixed seals to the present treaty of peace.

Done at Portsmouth, New Hampshire, this Fifth Day of the Ninth Month of the Thirty-eighth Year of the Mejei, corresponding to the twenty-third day of August, One Thousand Nine Hundred and Five.

THE JAPANESE-KOREAN SUZERAINTY PROTOCOL

The following is the text of the Agreement signed November 17, 1905, by plenipotentiaries of Japan and Korea, whereby Japan becomes the medium for conducting the foreign relations of Korea :—

The Governments of Japan and Korea, desiring to strengthen the principle of solidarity which unites the two Empires, have with that object in view agreed upon and concluded the following stipulations to serve until the moment arrives when it is recognised that Korea has attained national strength.

ARTICLE I.—The Government of Japan, through the Department of Foreign Affairs in Tokyo, will hereafter have control and direction of the external relations and affairs of Korea, and the Diplomatic and Consular Representatives of Japan will have the charge of the subjects and interests of Korea in foreign countries.

ARTICLE II.—The Government of Japan undertake to see to the execution of the treaties actually existing between Korea and other Powers, and the Government of Korea engage not to conclude hereafter any act or engagement having an international character, except through the medium of the Government of Japan.

ARTICLE III.—The Government of Japan shall be represented at the Court of His Majesty the Emperor of Korea by a Resident General who shall reside at Seoul, primarily for the purpose of taking charge of and directing

the matters relating to diplomatic affairs. He shall have the right of private and personal audiences of His Majesty the Emperor of Korea. The Japanese Government shall have the right to station residents at the several open ports and such other places in Korea as they may deem necessary.

Such residents shall, under the direction of the Resident General, exercise the powers and functions hitherto appertaining to Japanese Consuls in Korea, and shall perform such duties as may be necessary in order to carry into full effect the provisions of this Agreement.

ARTICLE IV.—The stipulations of all treaties and agreements existing between Japan and Korea, not inconsistent with the provisions of this Agreement, shall continue in force.

ARTICLE V.—The Government of Japan undertake to maintain the welfare and dignity of the Imperal House of Korea.

In faith whereof the undersigned, duly authorised by their Governments, have signed this Agreement and affixed their Seals.

THE PEKING TREATY

The following is the text of the final Protocal between the Powers and China, for the resumption of friendly relations after the Boxer outbreak, signed at Peking on the 7th of September, 1901 :—

The Plenipotentiaries of Germany, M. A. Mumm von Schwarzenstein ; of Austria-Hungary, Baron M. Czikann ; of Belgium, M. Joostens ; of Spain, M. B. J. de Cologan ; of the United States, Mr. W. W. Rockhill ; of France, M. Beau ; of Great Britain, Sir Ernest Satow ; of Italy, Marquis Salvago Raggi ; of Japan, M. Jutaro Komura ; of the Netherlands, M. F. M. Knobel ; of Russia, M. Michael de Giers ; and the Plenipotentiaries of China, His Highness Yi-K'uang, Prince of the First Rank ; Ch'ing, President of the Board of Foreign Affairs ; and his Excellency Li Hung-chang, Count of the First Rank ; Su-Yi, Tutor of the Heir Apparent ; Grand Secretary of the Wên-Hua Throne Hall, Minister of Commerce, Superintendent of Trade for the North, Governor-General of Chihli, have met for the purpose of declaring that China has complied with the conditions laid down in the Note of the 22nd of December, 1900, and which were accepted in their entirety by His Majesty the Emperor of China in a Decree dated the 27th of December, 1900 (Annex No. 1).

ARTICLE I.—(*a*) By an Imperial Edict of the 9th of June last (Annex No. 2), Tsai-Feng, Prince of the First Rank, Chün, was appointed Ambassador of His Majesty the

Emperor of China, and directed in that capacity to convey to His Majesty the German Emperor the expression of the regrets of His Majesty the Emperor of China and of the Chinese Government at the assassination of his Excellency the late Baron von Ketteler, German Minister.

Prince Chün left Peking on the 12th of July last to carry out the orders which had been given him.

(*b*) The Chinese Government has stated that it will erect on the spot of the assassination of his Excellency the late Baron von Ketteler a commemorative monument worthy of the rank of the deceased, and bearing an inscription in the Latin, German, and Chinese languages which shall express the regrets of His Majesty the Emperor of China for the murder committed.

The Chinese Plenipotentiaries have informed his Excellency the German Plenipotentiary, in a letter dated the 22nd of July last (Annex No. 3), that an arch of the whole width of the street would be erected on the said spot, and that work on it was begun on the 25th of June last.

ARTICLE II.—(*a*) Imperial Edicts of the 13th and 21st of February, 1901 (Annexes Nos. 4, 5, and 6), inflicted the following punishments on the principal authors of the attempts and of the crimes committed against the foreign Governments and their nationals:—

Tsa-Ii, Prince Tuan, and Tsai-Lan, Duke Fu-kuo, were sentenced to be brought before the Autumnal Court of Assize for execution, and it was agreed that if the Emperor saw fit to grant them their lives, they should be exiled to Turkestan, and there imprisoned for life, without the possibility of commutation of these punishments.

Tsai-Hsün, Prince Chuang, Ying-Nien, President of the Court of Censors, and Chao Shu-chiao, President of the Board of Punishments, were condemned to commit suicide.

Yü Hsien, Governor of Shansi, Chi Hsiu, President of

the Board of Rites, and Hsü Cheng-yu, formerly Senior Vice-President of the Board of Punishments, were condemned to death.

Posthumous degradation was inflicted on Kang Yi, Assistant Grand Secretary, President of the Board of Works, Hsü Tung, Grand Secretary, and Li Ping-heng, former Governor-General of Szu-chuan.

Imperial Edict of the 13th of February last (Annex No. 7) rehabilitated the memories of Hsü Yung-yi, President of the Board of War; Li Shan, President of the Board of Works; Hsü Ching Cheng, Senior Vice-President of the Board of Civil Office; Lien Yuan, Vice-Chancellor of the Grand Council; and Yuan Chang, Vice-President of the Court of Sacrifices, who had been put to death for having protested against the outrageous breaches of international law of last year.

Prince Chuang committed suicide on the 21st of February last; Ying Nien and Chao Shu-chiao on the 24th of February; Yu Hsien was executed on the 22nd of February; Chi Hsiu and Hsü Cheng-yu on the 26th of February; Tung Fu-hsiang, General in Kan-su, has been deprived of his office by Imperial Edict of the 13th of February last, pending the determination of the final punishment to be inflicted on him.

Imperial Edicts, dated the 29th of April and 19th of August, 1901, have inflicted various punishments on the provincial officials convicted of the crimes and outrages of last summer.

(*b*) An Imperial Edict, promulgated the 19th of August, 1901 (Annex No. 8), ordered the suspension of official examinations for five years in all cities where foreigners were massacred or submitted to cruel treatment.

ARTICLE III.—So as to make honourable reparation for the assassination of Mr. Sugiyama, Chancellor of the Japanese Legation, His Majesty the Emperor of China, by an Im-

perial Edict of the 18th of June, 1901 (Annex No. 9), appointed Na T'ung, Vice-President of the Board of Finances, to be his Envoy Extraordinary, and specially directed him to convey to His Majesty the Emperor of Japan the expression of the regrets of His Majesty the Emperor of China and of his Government at the assassination of Mr. Sugiyama.

ARTICLE IV.—The Chinese Government has agreed to erect an expiatory monument in each of the foreign or international cemeteries which were desecrated, and in which the tombs were destroyed.

It has been agreed with the Representatives of the Powers that the Legations interested shall settle the details for the erection of these monuments, China bearing all the expenses thereof, estimated at 10,000 taels, for the cemeteries at Peking and in its neighbourhood, and at 5,000 taels for the cemeteries in the provinces. The amounts have been paid, and the list of these cemeteries is inclosed herewith (Annex No. 10).

ARTICLE V.—China has agreed to prohibit the importation into its territory of arms and ammunition, as well as of materials exclusively used for the manufacture of arms and ammunition.

An Imperial Edict has been issued on the 25th of August (Annex No. 11), forbidding said importation for a term of two years. New Edicts may be issued subsequently extending this by other successive terms of two years in case of necessity recognised by the Powers.

ARTICLE VI.—By an Imperial Edict dated the 29th of May, 1901 (Annex No. 12), His Majesty the Emperor of China agreed to pay the Powers an indemnity of 450,000,000 of Haikwan taels.

This sum represents the total amount of the indemnities for States, Companies, or Societies, private individuals and Chinese, referred to in Article 6 of the note of the 22nd of December, 1900.

(*a*) These 450,000,000 constitute a gold debt calculated at the rate of the Haikwan tael to the gold currency of each country, as indicated below:—

Haikwan tael =	Marks	3·055
	Austro-Hungary crown ...	3·595
	Gold dollar	0·743
	Francs	3·740
	£ sterling	3s.
	Yen	1·407
	Netherlands florin	1·796
	Gold rouble (17·434 dolias fine)	1·412

This sum in gold shall bear interest at 4 per cent. per annum, and the capital shall be reimbursed by China in thirty-nine years in the manner indicated in the annexed plan of amortisation (Annex No. 13). Capital and interest shall be payable in gold or at the rates of exchange corresponding to the dates at which the different payments fall due.

The amortization shall commence the 1st of January, 1902, and shall finish at the end of the year 1940. The amortizations are payable annually, the first payment being fixed on the 1st of January, 1903.

Interest shall run from the 1st of July, 1901, but the Chinese Government shall have the right to pay off within a term of three years, beginning January, 1902, the arrears of the first six months ending the 31st of December, 1901, on condition, however, that it pays compound interest at the rate of 4 per cent. a year on the sums the payment of which shall have been thus deferred.

Interest shall be payable semi-annually, the first payment being fixed on the 1st of July, 1902.

(*b*) The service of the debt shall take place in Shanghai in the following manner :—

Each Power shall be represented by a Delegate on a Commission of bankers authorised to receive the amount of interest and amortization which shall be paid to it by the Chinese authorities designated for that purpose, to divide it among the interested parties, and to give a receipt for the same.

(*c*) The Chinese Government shall deliver to the Doyen of the Diplomatic Corps at Peking a bond for the lump sum, which shall subsequently be converted into fractional bonds bearing the signature of the Delegates of the Chinese Government designated for that purpose. This operation and all those relating to issuing of the bonds shall be performed by the above-mentioned Commission, in accordance with the instructions which the Powers shall send their Delegates.

(*d*) The proceeds of the revenues assigned to the payment of the bonds shall be paid monthly to the Commission.

(*e*) The revenues assigned as security for the bonds are the following :—

1. The balance of the revenues of the Imperial Maritime Customs, after payment of the interest and amortization of preceding loans secured on these revenues, plus the proceeds of the raising to 5 per cent. effective of the present tariff of maritime imports, including articles until now on the free list, but exempting rice, foreign cereals, and flour, gold and silver bullion and coin.

2. The revenues of the native Customs, administered in the open ports by the Imperial Maritime Customs.

3. The total revenues of the salt gabelle, exclusive of the fraction previously set aside for other foreign loans.

The raising of the present tariff on imports to 5 per cent. effective is agreed to on the conditions mentioned

below. It shall be put in force two months after the signing of the present Protocol, and no exceptions shall be made except for merchandise in transit not more than ten days after the said signing.

1. All duties levied on imports *ad valorem* shall be converted as far as possible and as soon as may be into specific duties.

This conversion shall be made in the following manner:—

The average value of merchandise at the time of their landing during the three years 1897, 1898, and 1899, that is to say, the market price less the amount of import duties and incidental expenses, shall be taken as the basis for the valuation of merchandise.

Pending the result of the work of conversion, duties shall be levied *ad valorem*.

2. The beds of the Rivers Whangpoo and Peiho shall be improved with the financial participation of China.

ARTICLE VII.—The Chinese Government has agreed that the quarter occupied by the Legations shall be considered as one specially reserved for their use and placed under their exclusive control, in which Chinese shall not have the right to reside, and which may be made defensible. The limits of this quarter have been fixed as follows on the annexed plan (Annex No. 14).

On the east, Ketteler Street (10, 11, 12).

On the north, the line, 5, 6, 7, 8, 9, 10.

On the west, the line, 1, 2, 3, 4, 5.

On the south, the line 12—1, drawn along the exterior base of the Tartar wall, and following the line of the bastions.

In the Protocol annexed to the letter of the 16th of January, 1901, China recognised the right of each Power to maintain a permanent guard in the said quarter for the defence of its Legation.

ARTICLE VIII.—The Chinese Government has consented to raze tbe forts of Taku, and those which might impede free communication between Peking and the sea. Steps have been taken for carrying this out.

ARTICLE IX.—The Chinese Government conceded the right to the Powers in the Protocol, annexed to the letter of the 16th of January, 1901, to occupy certain points, to be determined by an Agreement between them for the maintenance of open communication between the capital and the sea. The points occupied by the Powers are:—

Huang-tsun, Lang-fang, Yang-tsun, Tien-tsin, Chun-liang-Cheng, Tong-ku, Lu-tai, Tong-shan, Lan-chou, Chang-li, Chin-wang Tao, Shan-hai Kuan.

ARTICLE X.—The Chinese Government has agreed to post and to have published during two years in all district cities the following Imperial Edicts:—

(*a*) Edict of the 1st of February, 1901 (Annex No. 15) prohibiting for ever, under pain of death, membership in any anti-foreign society.

(*b*) Edicts of the 13th and 21st February, 29th April and 19th August, 1901, enumerating the punishments inflicted on the guilty.

(*c*) Edict of the 19th August, 1901, prohibiting examinations in all cities where foreigners were massacred or subjected to cruel treatment.

(*d*) Edicts of the 1st February, 1901 (Annex No. 16), declaring all Governors-General, Governors, and provincial or local officials responsible for order in their respective districts, and that in case of new anti-foreign troubles or other infractions of the Treaties which shall not be immediately repressed and the authors of which shall not have been punished, these officials shall be immediately dismissed without possibility of being given new functions or new honours.

The posting of these Edicts is being carried on throughout the Empire.

ARTICLE XI.—The Chinese Government has agreed to negotiate the amendments deemed necessary by the foreign Governments to the Treaties of Commerce and Navigation and the other subjects concerning commercial relations with the object of facilitating them.

At present, and as a result of the stipulation contained in Article 6 concerning the indemnity, the Chinese Government agrees to assist in the improvement of the courses of the Rivers Peiho and Whangpoo, as stated below:—

(*a*) The works for the improvement of the navigability of the Peiho, begun in 1898 with the co-operation of the Chinese Government, have been resumed under the direction of an International Commission. As soon as the Administration of Tien-tsin shall have been handed back to the Chinese Government it will be in a position to be represented on this Commission, and will pay each year a sum of 60,000 Haikwan taels for maintaining the works.

(*b*) A Conservancy Board, charged with the management and control of the works for straightening the Whangpoo and the improvement of the course of that river, is hereby created.

The Board shall consist of members representing the interests of the Chinese Government and those of foreigners in the shipping trade of Shanghae.

The expenses incurred for the works and the general management of the undertaking are estimated at the annual sum of 460,000 Haikwan taels for the first twenty years. This sum shall be supplied in equal portions by the Chinese Government and the foreign interests concerned. Detailed stipulations concerning the composition, duties, and revenues of the Conservancy Board are embodied in Annex No. 17.

ARTICLE XII.—An Imperial Edict of the 24th July, 1901

(Annex No. 18), reformed the Office of Foreign Affairs, Tsung-li Yamên, on the lines indicated by the Powers, that is to say, transformed it into a Ministry of Foreign Affairs, Wai Wu Pu, which takes precedence over the six other Ministries of State; the same Edict appointed the principal Members of this Ministry.

An agreement has also been reached concerning the modification of Court ceremonial as regards the reception of foreign Representatives, and has been the subject of several notes from the Chinese Plenipotentiaries, the substance of which is embodied in a Memorandum herewith annexed (Annex No. 19).

Finally, it is expressly understood that as regards the declarations specified above and the annexed documents originating with the foreign Plenipotentiaries, the French text only is authoritative.

The Chinese Government having thus complied to the satisfaction of the Powers with the conditions laid down in the above-mentioned note of the 22nd December, 1900, the Powers have agreed to accede to the wish of China to terminate the situation created by the disorders of the summer of 1900. In consequence thereof, the foreign Plenipotentiaries are authorised to declare in the names of their Governments that, with the exception of the Legation guards mentioned in Article 7, the international troops will completely evacuate the city of Peking on the 17th September, 1901, and, with the exception of the localities mentioned in Article 9, will withdraw from the Province of Chihli on the 22nd September, 1901.

The present final Protocol has been drawn up in twelve identic copies, and signed by all the Plenipotentiaries of the contracting countries. One copy shall be given to each of the foreign Plenipotentiaries, and one copy shall be given to the Chinese Plenipotentiaries.

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